





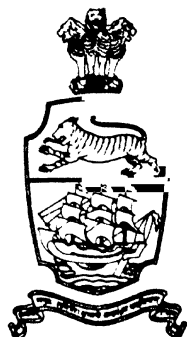








Volume III



## Council Debates

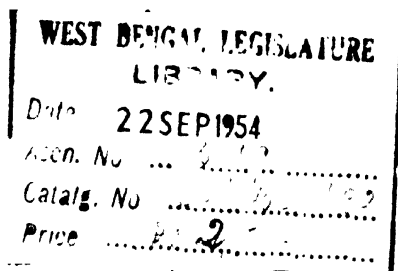
Official Report

West Bengal Legislative Council

Third Session (November-December), 1953

*(From 9th November to 1st December, 1953)*

The 9th, 11th, 16th, 23rd, 26th and 30th November and  
1st December, 1953.



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1954



# GOVERNMENT OF WEST BENGAL

## GOVERNOR.

DR. HARENDRA COOMAR MOOKERJEE.

## MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

- The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY, Chief Minister and Minister-in-charge of the Home, Development, Medical and Public Health, Finance and Commerce and Industries Departments.
- The Hon'ble JADABENDRA NATH PANJA, Minister-in-charge of the Cottage and Small Scale Industries Department.
- The Hon'ble HEM CHANDRA NASKAR, Minister-in-charge of the Forests and Fisheries Department.
- The Hon'ble AJOY KUMAR MUKHERJI, Minister-in-charge of the Department of Irrigation and Waterways.
- The Hon'ble SIAMA PRASAD BARMAN, Minister-in-charge of the Excise Department.
- The Hon'ble KHAGENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA, Minister-in-charge of the Works and Buildings Department.
- The Hon'ble RADHAGOBINDA ROY, Minister-in-charge of the Department of Tribal Welfare.
- The Hon'ble RENUKA RAY, Minister-in-charge of the Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation Department.
- \*The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN, Minister-in-charge of the Department of Food, Relief and Supplies.
- The Hon'ble Dr. RAFICUDDIN AHMED, Minister-in-charge of the Agriculture and Co-operation Department.
- The Hon'ble PANNALAL BOSE, Minister-in-charge of the Department of Education.
- \*The Hon'ble KALI PADA MOOKERJEE, Minister-in-charge of the Department of Labour.
- The Hon'ble SATYENDRA KUMAR BASU, Minister-in-charge of the Judicial and Legislative Departments, and Department of Land and Land Revenue.
- The Hon'ble ISWAR DAS JALAN, Minister-in-charge of the Local Self-Government Department.

## MINISTERS OF STATE.

- The Hon'ble Dr. AMULYABHAN MUKHARJI, Minister of State in charge of the Medical and Public Health Department.
- The Hon'ble Dr. JIBAN RATAN DHAR, Minister of State in charge of the Jails Branch of the Home Department.

## DEPUTY MINISTERS.

- Sj. SATISH CHANDRA ROY SINGH, Deputy Minister for the Transport Branch of the Home Department.
- Sj. SATYENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH MAULIK, Deputy Minister for the Defence Branch of the Home Department.

\*Member of the West Bengal Legislative Council.

- Sj. GOPIKA BILAS SEN GUPTA**, Deputy Minister for the Publicity and Public Relations Branch of the Home Department.
- Sj. TARUN KANTI GHOSH**, Deputy Minister for the Township Branch of the Development Department and for the Relief Branch of the Food, Relief and Supplies Department.
- Sj. SOWRINDRA MOHAN MISRA**, Deputy Minister for the Commerce and Industries Department.
- Sj. TENZING WANGDI**, Deputy Minister for the Tribal Welfare Department and for the Excise Department.
- Sj. BIJESH CHANDRA SEN**, Deputy Minister for the Rehabilitation Branch of the Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation Department.
- Sj. SMARAJIT BANDYOPADHYAY**, Deputy Minister for the Food Branch of the Food, Relief and Supplies Department.
- Sj. RAJANI KANTA PRAMANIK**, Deputy Minister for the Supplies Branch of the Food, Relief and Supplies Department.
- Janab ABDUS SHOKUR**, Deputy Minister for the Agriculture Branch of the Department of Agriculture and Co-operation.
- \*Sj. CHITTARANJAN ROY**, Deputy Minister for the Co-operation Branch of the Department of Agriculture and Co-operation.
- Shrijukta PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY**, Deputy Minister for the Women's Education Branch of the Education Department and for the Relief Branch of the Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation Department.
- Sj. SHIVA KUMAR RAI**, Deputy Minister for the Labour Department.
- Sj. DEBENDRA CHANDRA DEY**, Deputy Minister for the Home Department in charge of Parliamentary Affairs.

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\*Member of the West Bengal Legislative Council.

# WEST BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

## PRINCIPAL OFFICERS.

### CHAIRMAN.

Dr. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

### DEPUTY CHAIRMAN.

Dr. PRATAP CHANDRA GUHA RAY.

## ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS.

### A

- (1) Abdul Halim, Janab. [Elected by M.L.As.]
- (2) Abdur Rashid, Janab Mirza. [Elected by M.L.As.]

### B

- (3) Bagchi, Sj. Narendranath. [Elected by M.L.As.]
- (4) Bandopadhyaya, Sj. Tarakdas. [Nadia-Murshidabad (Local Authorities).]
- (5) Banerjee, Sj. Sunil Kumar. [Hooghly-Howrah (Local Authorities).]
- (6) Banerjee, Sj. Tara Sankar. [Nominated.]
- (7) Banerji, Sj. Bankim Chandra. [Elected by M.L.As.]
- (8) Banerji, Sj. Sankar Das. [Nominated.]
- (9) Basu, Sj. Gurugobinda. [Nominated.]
- (10) Bhattacharjee, Sj. Durga Kinkar. [Presidency Division North (Teachers).]
- (11) Bhattacharya, Dr. Bijanbihari. [Burdwan Division (Teachers).]
- (12) Bhattacharyya, Sj. Nirmal Chandra. [Calcutta (Graduates).]
- (13) Bose, Sj. Subodh Kumar. [Elected by M.L.As.]

### C

- (14) Chakrabarty, Dr. Monindra Mohan. [Elected by M.L.As.]
- (15) Chakravarty, Sj. Hridoy Bhusan. [Cal.-24-Parganas (Local Authorities).]
- (16) Chatterjea, Sj. Devaprasad. [Cal.-24-Parganas (Local Authorities).]
- (17) Chatterji, Dr. Suniti Kumar. [West Bengal South (Graduates).]
- (18) Chattopadhyay, Sj. K. P. [Elected by M.L.As.]
- (19) Choudhuri, Sj. Annada Prosad. [Burdwan Division North (Local Authorities).]

### D

- (20) Das, Shrijukta Santi. [Nominated.]
- (21) Deb, Sj. Narasingha Malla Ugal Sanda. [Nominated.]
- (22) Dutt, Shrijukta Labanyaprova. [Nominated.]

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\*Chairman.

*Note.*—Sj. stands for Shrijut, and Sjkta. stands for Shrijukta.

**G**

- (23) Ghose, Sj. Kamini Kumar. [Calcutta (Teachers).]  
 (24) Guha, Sj. Prafulla Kumar. [Cal.-24-Parganas (Local Authorities).]  
 •(25) Gula Ray, Dr. Pratap Chandra. [Elected by M.L.As.]

**K**

- (26) Kumar, Sj. Siba Prasad. [Elected by M.L.As.]

**M**

- (27) Mahanty, Sj. Charu Chandra. [Burdwan Division North (Local Authorities).]  
 (28) Majumdar, Sj. Sudhirendra Nath. [Cal.-24-Parganas (Local Authorities).]  
 (29) Misra, Sj. Sachindra Nath. [West Bengal North (Local Authorities).]  
 (30) Mohammad Jan, Janab Shaikh. [Nominated.]  
 (31) Mohammad Sayeed Mia, Janab. [Elected by M.L.As.]  
 (32) Mookerjee, Sj. Kamala Charan. [Elected by M.L.As.]  
 (33) Mookerjee, Sj. Kali Pada. [Cal.-24-Parganas (Local Authorities).]  
 (34) Mukherjee, Sj. Debendranath. [Elected by M.L.As.]  
 (35) Mukherjee, Sj. Kamada Kinkar. [Elected by M.L.As.]  
 (36) Musharruf Hossain, Janab. [Nominated.]

**N**

- (37) Nahar, Sj. Bijoy Singh. [Elected by M.L.As.]

**P**

- (38) Prasad, Sj. R. S. [Darjeeling (Local Authorities).]  
 (39) Prodhan, Sj. Lakshman. [Elected by M.L.As.]

**R**

- (40) Rai Choudhuri, Sj. Mohitosh. [Presidency Division South (Teachers).]  
 (41) Roy, Sj. Chittaranjan. [West Bengal West (Graduates).]  
 (42) Roy, Sj. Surendra Kumar. [Elected by M.L.As.]

**S**

- (43) Sanyal, Sj. Charu Chandra. [West Bengal North (Graduates).]  
 (44) Saraogi, Sj. Pannalal. [Nominated.]  
 (45) Sarkar, Sj. Pranabeswar. [Burdwan Division North (Local Authorities).]  
 (46) Sawoo, Sj. Sarat Chandra. [Cal.-24-Parganas (Local Authorities).]  
 (47) Sen, Sj. Debendra. [Elected by M.L.As.]  
 (48) Sen, Sj. Prafulla Chandra. [Hooghly-Howrah (Local Authorities).]  
 (49) Singha, Sj. Biman Behari Lall. [Burdwan Division North (Local Authorities).]  
 (50) Sinha, Sj. Kali Narayan. [Nadia-Murshidabad (Local Authorities).]  
 (51) Sinha, Sj. Rabindralal. [Hooghly-Howrah (Local Authorities).]

## COUNCIL DEBATES

*Monday, the 9th November, 1953.*

THE COUNCIL met in the Legislative Chamber of the Legislative Building, Calcutta, on Monday, the 9th November, 1953, at 10 a.m. being the 1st day of the Third Session, under the Constitution of India.

Mr. Chairman (The Hon'ble Dr. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI) was in the Chair.

### Obituary reference to the deaths of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookherjee and others.

[10—10.5 a.m.]

**Mr. Chairman:** Before proceeding with the business of the day I would like to make a reference to a number of prominent public men of our country associated with West Bengal who were members of either the Provincial or State Legislature or the Central Legislature (that is the Indian Parliament) or both, and who have passed away since the Council last met on the 12th of May this year.

First of all, I shall make a reference to the late **Dr. Syama Prasad Mookherjee**. Syama Prasad, the second son of the illustrious Sir Ashutosh Mookherjee, was born in 1901 and was educated at the Mitra Institution, Bhowanipore, and the Presidency College in Calcutta, and in London. He became a Fellow of Calcutta University at the age of 23 in the year 1924, and since then he served the University till his death. In the year 1934 he became the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University and he was perhaps the youngest Vice-Chancellor, and of the premier University of India.

Syama Prasad qualified for the bar in London in 1926, after a brilliant career in the University of Calcutta in both Arts and Law.

He interested himself in both education and public affairs. He was elected a member of the old Legislative Council of Bengal in 1929 from the University of Calcutta as a Congress candidate. But soon after he resigned from the Council when the Congress decided to boycott legislatures, and he was re-elected in 1930 as an independent candidate, and again he was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly of undivided Bengal under the reformed constitution, and he served from 1937 to 1947. In the meanwhile he joined the Hindu Mahasabha and helped to organise and stabilise it as a political group in the State. In 1941 he was the Finance Minister of the Government of Bengal but resigned from the Ministry in 1942 on the issue of the then Government's policy of repression in Midnapore.

He organised large-scale relief from the side of the people during the terrible Bengal Famine of 1943. He was all through intimately connected with a large number of educational, scientific and cultural institutions, and was elected President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and served as such from 1943 to 1945. In 1946 he was elected to the Bengal Legislative Assembly from the University constituency, and during the communal riots and killings in Calcutta in 1946 he supported the distressed everywhere. In the same year he was returned to the Constituent Assembly in the Centre as a member from Bengal.

After the independence of India he was taken in the Cabinet of Pandit Nehru, and he became Minister for Industries and Supply of the Government of India, from 1947 August to April 1950 when he resigned, disagreeing with his colleagues in the Cabinet on their Pakistan policy.

In his latter days he set up an all-India party under the name of *Janasangha* and left the Hindu Mahasabha. He was returned to the House of the People from the South Calcutta Parliamentary constituency in the first general election



[Mr. Chairman.]

of 1952, and immediately became a noted personality in the opposition benches in the Parliament. His speeches in the House drew the admiration not only of opposition members but also of the Treasury Bench. He started *Satyagraha* on the Kashmir issue, and was arrested by the Kashmir Government when he went into Kashmir to make personal investigations. He passed away at Srinagar while under detention on 23rd June, 1953.

Syama Prasad was personally known to most of the members of the Council, and to many, including myself, he was a close friend and a fellow worker. Most of us therefore are filled with a sense of personal loss, in addition to his untimely passing away being regarded by most of his countrymen as a national calamity.

[10-5—10-10 a.m.]

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra**, M.A., B.L., son of Rajani Kanta Maitra, was born at Narayanganj in 1895. He was educated at Narayanganj, Dacca and Calcutta. Pandit Maitra enrolled himself as an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court, and joined Indian National Congress in 1920. A versatile man, Pandit Maitra was connected with many institutions. He was Secretary of the *Vangiya Purana Parishad*, an institution for the study and propagation of the *Puranas* and other Sanskrit religious literature, and founder of the Santipur College and High School; he was also a member of the Council of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, of the All-India Technical Education Committee, and of the Central Board of Education. He was Vice-President of the Indian Association Calcutta, and President of the Postal and R. M. S. Union. As Chairman of the Food-grains Investigation Committee, he made extensive tours, and he was responsible for valuable recommendations for gradual decontrol which policy the Government followed later.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra** was a gifted Parliamentarian and was one of the oldest members of the House. He was held in high esteem in Parliament, and commanded respectful hearing whenever he rose to speak in the House. He was a great patron and friend of displaced persons, and criticised the policy of Government in regard to minorities of East Bengal. He made special studies about railways, food, education and rehabilitation problems.

Formally orthodox, though at the same time quite liberal in his outlook, he made memorable speeches against the Hindu Code Bill, which he honestly believed was unnecessary and would be harmful to the Hindu people.

He had been suffering from coronary troubles for some time past, and he died at the comparatively early age of 58 on July 25, 1953.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra's personal qualities made him generally liked by all who knew him, and I myself had the privilege of making his acquaintance years ago when I was invited by him to his own town of Santipur to preside over an Annual Session of the *Purana Parishad*. Since then, I met him on various occasions at New Delhi and elsewhere, and the deep esteem I felt for him makes this sense of personal loss all the keener for me, as undoubtedly also for many of his other friends and acquaintances within the House.

**Janab Abdur Rahman Siddiqi**, M.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law, was born in Bombay in 1887 and he died at Karachi on May 26, 1953. He was educated at Ahmedabad, Aligarh and London. Although he belonged to Western India, he virtually made Bengal the province of his adoption, when he came to Calcutta in 1907 to start his life as a journalist. He was associated with Maulana Mohammad Ali from the time the latter used to bring out the *Comrade* from Calcutta, and he joined Dr. Ansari's Medical Mission to Turkey as its Secretary and Manager during the Balkan War

of 1912. He took a leading part in the Khilafat Movement, and was actively interested in the affairs of Palestine. He also lived in the United Kingdom for a number of years, both as a student and as a business man.

Janab Siddiqi represented the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, of which he was the President, in the Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1937, and again in 1946-51, when he resigned. He was a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League. He was for a time Chairman of the Bengal Board of Industries, and a member of the Calcutta Improvement Trust. He was elected Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation in 1940. Janab Siddiqi had the reputation of being a good parliamentarian. He was a good speaker and an able debator, and his perfect manners made him popular with all who came in touch with him.

In 1950 he went to Karachi to live in retirement there, but he was made the acting Governor of East Pakistan in July 1952, during the leave of absence of the permanent Governor, Malik Firoz Khan Noon.

**Sir Abdul Halim Chuznavi, Kt.**, was born in 1876, and he passed away at the age of 77 at his residence in Tangail, Mymensingh, East Bengal, on June 18, 1953. He was the scion of a *Zemindar* family of Mymensingh, and was educated in Calcutta, in St. Xavier's College. He was at first a follower of Surendra Nath Banerjee and was in the Indian National Congress which he later on left. He was the President of Muslim Conference at Kanpur in 1929, and was a Delegate to all the three Round Table Conferences in London. He served in many committees and sub-committees set up by Government. He was a Delegate to the Joint Parliamentary Committee in 1933, and to the Reserve Bank Committee in 1933. Sir Abdul Halim was associated with Dacca and Aligarh Universities. He became the Sheriff of

Calcutta in 1934. He was made President of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce in 1939, and of the Indian Chamber of Commerce in 1945.

[10-10—10-30 a.m.]

He was the Honorary Secretary, Calcutta Jubilee Celebration Committee, and Vice-President, Bengal Provincial Committee of Their Majesties' Silver Jubilee Fund, India. He was elected to the Constituent Assembly in 1948. Sir Abdul Halim was interested also in Arts and Culture, was for a time Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum, and was President of the Governing Body of the West Bengal School of Arts and Crafts at the time of his death. Sir Abdul also interested himself in the development of India's coastal shipping.

Honourable Members, let us show our respect to the memory of these men, great sons of Mother India, who sought to serve their country and their people according to their lights and their best capacity, by rising in our seats and standing for two minutes in silence.

(The members then rose in their seats and stood in silence for two minutes.)

Thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen. The Secretary will do the needful. The House stands adjourned as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased for fifteen minutes.

(The Council was then adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

#### Panel of Presiding Officers.

**Mr. Chairman:** In accordance with the provisions of Rule 7 of the West Bengal Legislative Council Procedure Rules, I nominate the following members of the Council to form a panel of four Presiding Officers for the current session:—

- (1) Sj. Tarakdas Bando-  
padhyaya,

[Mr. Chairman.]

- (2) Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee.
- (3) Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya, and
- (4) Sjkta. Labanyaprova Dutt.

Unless otherwise arranged, the senior member among them present in the above order will preside over the deliberations of this Council in my absence and in the absence of the Deputy Chairman.

### QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

**Special hardship allowance on account of higher cost of living in certain parts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts.**

**1. Sj. Charu Chandra Sanyal:**

(a) Will the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Finance Department be pleased to state if it is a fact—

(i) that special hardship allowance on account of higher cost of living is allowed to Government officers employed in the Duars section of the Jalpaiguri district and in Terai in the district of Darjeeling;

(ii) that such hardship allowance is not granted to the Government officers working in the remaining two thanas of Sadar, Jalpaiguri; and

(iii) that the cost of living in these two thanas is the same as in Terai and Duars?

(b) If the answer to (a) be in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government consider the desirability of—

(i) extending the same facilities to the Government officers employed in these two thanas; and

(ii) extending the special allowance to non-permanent Government officers in the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri?

**Minister-in-charge of the Finance Department (Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy):** (a) (i) Duars section (Jalpaiguri)—No.

Alipur Duars subdivision in Jalpaiguri—Yes, to ministerial officers in consideration of unhealthiness of the locality.

Southern Roads subdivision of the Darjeeling Division—To Works and Buildings subordinates only in consideration of the unhealthiness of the locality in addition to compensatory allowance for high cost of living.

(ii) The question is not clear as to which of the thanas referred to.

(iii) and (b)(i) Do not arise.

(ii) Does not arise in view of the fact that where compensatory allowance for high cost of living is admissible, temporary and permanent Government servants are equally eligible for such allowance.

[10:30—10:35 a.m.]

**Sj. Charu Chandra Sanyal:**

Arising out of (a) (i) the information given does not seem to be wholly correct. I hope the Minister-in-charge will get more correct information and let me know it.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** I do not agree that the information given in reply is not correct.

**Sj. Charu Chandra Sanyal:**

Would he kindly inquire whether in Duars section of Alipore subdivision in Jalpaiguri district Government employees get the same compensatory allowance? Alipore Sadar subdivision covers large portion of Western Duars and in certain thanas which are equally unhealthy the benefit of compensatory allowance should also be extended.

**Mr. Chairman:** Sj. Sanyal, this is no question. You are making suggestions. Try to confine yourself to questions only.

**Sj. Charu Chandra Sanyal:**

In Darjeeling Division the officers and employees of the Works and Buildings Department are getting compensatory allowance in consideration of the unhealthiness of the

locality. Is it a fact that officers and employees of other departments working in that unhealthy climate are not allowed to draw such allowance? The two thanas referred to are Sadar subdivision thanas. Will the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge speak something about the compensatory allowance in these thanas and arising out of (ii) whether the officers and other Government servants working there are not equally eligible to draw the allowance? Will the Hon'ble Minister kindly inform whether the cost of living throughout the district of Jalpaiguri is the highest in Bengal—higher than Calcutta—and whether it is possible to allow the benefit of this allowance to all the officers?

**Mr. Chairman:** Sj. Sanyal, you are making statements. They are not admissible.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the thanas of Mal and Metah form a part of the Alipore Dooar subdivision?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** I have no information. Sir, the point is that in terms of rule 19 of the West Bengal Service (Revision of Pay) Rules, 1950, all whole-time Government servants holding posts under Schedule III should draw pay in the revised scale and are entitled to the benefit of compensatory allowance while posted in Darjeeling district at the rates indicated in the Schedule. Again on 27th August, 1951, it was decided that all whole-time Government servants other than those covered by the previous rule mentioned and except employees of Jails and Police Departments are entitled to draw compensatory allowance while posted in Darjeeling district.

[10-35—10-40 a.m.]

Under Article 788 of the Police Regulations Sergeants of the Police Department posted in the Darjeeling district are entitled to draw Rs. 25 as compensatory allowance for expensiveness of living. Under the same regulation Inspectors are

entitled to draw at the rate of 30 per cent. and Sergeants, Sub-Inspectors and Assistant Sub-Inspectors at 25 per cent. of their pay for unhealthiness of the locality. In the Duars the officers are entitled to draw one-half of their allowance as pay and the remainder as compensatory allowance. In terms of the Finance Department Memorandum, dated the 29th August, 1951, constables posted in the Darjeeling town and in the Darjeeling district who belong to the Special and Armed and Unarmed forces do not draw allowance as referred to above but draw Rs. 2 as compensatory allowance. In terms of the Finance Department resolution referred to above a sum of Rs. 2 per month is paid to head-warders and warders of the Darjeeling District Jail and the Kurseong and Kalimpong Sub-Jails in the Darjeeling district. Under Government order, dated the 8th February, 1952, Jailors and Deputy Jailors of Darjeeling and head-warders of the Siliguri Jail draw allowances at rates specified therein as compensatory allowance for expensiveness of living. At present no compensatory allowance is admissible to officers posted in Jalpaiguri district and the question of granting such allowance to them is being considered by Government. Under paragraph 346 of the Bengal Audit Manual all ministerial officers employed in Alipur Duars are entitled to draw an allowance of 25 per cent. and a special Terai allowance of ten per cent. in the southern areas for unhealthiness of the locality in addition to the compensatory allowance admissible for expensiveness of living. This is all the information I can give here and if my honourable friend wants to make suggestions he can send them and we shall examine them and see how far those suggestions can be accepted.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when these rules were drawn up?

**Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** I have already given you the dates—1950, 1951 and 1952,—at different periods.

**Production and procurement of foodstuffs in the State.**

**2. 8j. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

Will the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Food Department be pleased to state—

(a) the total acreage under cultivation and the production in each of the last three years in West Bengal of—

- (i) rice,
- (ii) wheat, and
- (iii) other foodstuffs;

(b) the net quantities of each of the above foodstuffs available for human consumption in each of the last three years;

(c) the total quantity of—

- (i) rice, and
- (ii) other foodstuffs, if any, procured internally in each of the last three years;

(d) total quantity of—

- (i) rice,
- (ii) wheat, and
- (iii) other foodstuffs, if any, received from the Centre in each of the last three years;

(e) whether Government of India paid any compensation to the State for loss in paddy through diversion of land to jute; and

(f) if so, the quantity of rice promised and actually supplied by the Government of India in each of the last three years as compensation?

**Minister-in-charge of the Food Department (Sj. Prafulla Chandra Sen):** (a) and (b) A statement is laid on the Table.

(c)

			1950 (tons).	1951 (tons).	1952 (tons).
Rice	..	..	473,101	431,765	317,887
Other foodgrains	..	..	Nil	Nil	Nil

(d) A statement is laid on the Table.

(f) The Government of India while making allocation of foodgrains to this State do not specify what part of the allocation is intended to cover such loss.

(e) Yes.

*Statement referred to in reply to clauses (a) and (b) of question No. 2.*

	Area in thousand acres.			Net production in thousand tons.		
	1950.	1951.	1952.	1950.	1951.	1952.
Rice	.. 9,605.6	9,846.8	9,676.4	3,259.4	3,540.8	3,209.3
Wheat	.. 88.7	124.6	130.3	18.7	37.2	36.6
Other cereals (barley, other rabi cereals, jowar, bazra, rogi, maize and other bhadai cereals).	218.2	228.8	269.7	48.5	57.3	74.5

*Statement referred to in reply to clause (d) of question No. 2.*

		1950 (tons).	1951 (tons).	1952 (tons).
Rice	..	18,000	32,000	140,000
Wheat/wheat-products	..	292,000	522,000	532,000
Other foodgrains	..	Nil	Nil	Nil

**Sl. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether West Bengal Government keeps any record of the area of land that is diverted from paddy to jute cultivation and whether the Government of India did not make any statement as to the quantity of rice given by way of compensation for such diversion? Did the Minister-in-charge of the Supply Department make any enquiry whether he got the adequate quantity of rice from the Central Government for such diversion of the area from paddy to jute cultivation?

[10-40—10-45 a.m.]

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra**

**Sen:** Yes, Sir, we have got the figures, but I cannot give them here off-hand.

**Sl. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

Will the Hon'ble Minister explain why the area under paddy cultivation was reduced from 9,846 acres in 1951 to 9,676 acres in 1952? Was it due to the diversion of land from paddy cultivation to jute cultivation or there were other reasons?

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra**

**Sen:** Diversion of aus paddy land to jute cultivation there was, but the total acreage in 1950 was 965,600 acres whereas during 1951 there was really an increase of 241,000 acres. In 1952 there was decrease certainly but that was due to other causes.

**Sl. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

What are those reasons for this reduction?

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra**

**Sen:** I may tell my honourable friend that it might be due to drought.

**Sl. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

Will the Hon'ble Minister please explain what were the measures which were taken by the West Bengal Government for facilitating the movement of foodgrains from surplus district to deficit district?

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra**

**Sen:** I may tell my honourable friend that this supplementary does not arise from the question.

**Sl. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

The Hon'ble Minister has missed the point. Will he please just turn to the answer in regard to the question about the deficit areas of West Bengal?

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra**

**Sen:** That is in the next question.

### Deficit districts of the State.

**3. Sl. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

Will the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Food Department be pleased to state—

(a) what are the deficit districts this year in West Bengal; and

(b) whether Government have taken any measures to facilitate movement of food-grains from the surplus areas to deficit areas?

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra**

**Sen:** (a) 24-Parganas, Howrah, Hooghly, Nadia and Darjeeling.

(b) Yes.

**Sl. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

Will the Hon'ble Minister please explain whether he can tell the House as to the measures taken by the Government of West Bengal for facilitating the movement of food-grains from surplus areas to deficit areas?

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra**

**Sen:** Sir, last year, as you know, when the levy was imposed, all inter-district barriers were removed and rice was allowed to move from surplus districts to deficit districts.

**Sl. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

May we then take it that the cordon system was the only measure that was taken by the Government for facilitating the movement of rice from surplus to deficit areas?

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra**

**Sen:** Two measures were adopted by Government—one was permission for free movement of rice and the other was rushing of supplies to deficit areas under modified rationing scheme.

[10-45—10-50 a.m.]

**Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

Will the Hon'ble Minister please explain whether the Government or the District Officers keep any record about the quantity of rice that is taken, say, from the surplus district of Burdwan and the quantity that is diverted to 24-Parganas or to Howrah or to Hooghly which are deficit districts? Does the Government keep any record of the quantities moved from one district to another?

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra**

**Sen:** Yes, we have got record, provided that these are not head loads—I mean to say that when they move in loads of 10 maunds and above there is certainly a record. But if the movement is below 10 maunds, it is hardly possible to keep a record.

**Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

Will the Hon'ble Minister kindly explain whether Government make any enquiry as to where the scarcity is very acute? Take, for example, 24-Parganas. I find from the statement distributed among the members just now that the largest quantity of dry doles or gratuitous relief is distributed amongst the people of 24-Parganas. That shows that scarcity is very acute in the district of 24-Parganas. I want to know whether Government make any enquiry whether the movement of rice that is made from a surplus district to a district like 24-Parganas is in keeping with the acute scarcity in that district.

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra**

**Sen:** There might be distress but there may not be scarcity of food. It may be due to lack of purchasing power.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhatta-**

**charyya:** Will the Hon'ble Minister please state the causes of deficit in the different districts, particularly in the four districts mentioned by him, viz., 24-Parganas, Howrah, Hooghly and Nadia?

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra**

**Sen:** In 24-Parganas there are about 6 lakhs of refugees and the density of population is, very high. So is the case of Nadia where also a large number of refugees have settled. In Darjeeling area and Howrah it is due to shortage of land, and in Hooghly also, it being an industrial area, the population is high and the land *per capita* is very small.

[10-45—10-50 a.m.]

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhatta-**

**charyya:** Will the Minister please state the measures that he proposes to adopt to wipe off the deficit?

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra**

**Sen:** The Agriculture Department have adopted measures to increase the yield per bigha, and this year we have had a bumper crop mostly due to supply of water for irrigation and fertilisers.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhatta-**

**charyya:** Am I to understand that these four districts are today, due to the adoption of those measures, surplus districts?

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra**

**Sen:** No. Howrah cannot be surplus. In Howrah district the *per capita* land under paddy is 3 bigha. So it is difficult to make Howrah district even self-sufficient, not to speak of making it surplus.

[10-45—10-50 a.m.]

**Refusal of consent to an Adjournment Motion.**

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakra-**

**barty:** Sir, I want to move a motion for adjournment. There was police firing at Deulti on the morning of the—

**Mr. Chairman:** Dr. Chakra-

**barty,** consent to the adjournment motion which you propose to move has been refused on the ground that already a short-notice question on the subject has been tabled by you, and we are expecting the reply to that any moment.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** There have been further incidents after I sent my question.

**Mr. Chairman:** All these are connected matters. It is only one item. We might get the reply to the question any moment. You might try to elicit further facts for the benefit of the House in the shape of supplementary questions. From that point of view I think this adjournment motion is out of order and I withhold my consent.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** I beg to submit, Sir, that after I had submitted the question there had been further incidents—

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Sir, he can put other short-notice questions.

[10-50—10-55 a.m.]

### LAYING OF ORDINANCES.

#### **The Bengal Municipal (Amendment) Ordinance, 1953.**

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** Sir, I beg leave to lay before the Council the Bengal Municipal (Amendment) Ordinance, 1953 (West Bengal Ordinance No. III of 1953), under article 213(2)(a) of the Constitution of India.

#### **The Calcutta University (Amendment) Ordinance, 1953.**

**The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose:** Sir, I beg leave to lay before the Council the Calcutta University (Amendment) Ordinance, 1953 (West Bengal Ordinance No. IV of 1953), under article 213(2)(a) of the Constitution of India.

#### **The Contingency Fund of West Bengal (Amendment) Ordinance, 1953.**

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Sir, I beg leave to lay before the Council the Contingency Fund

of West Bengal (Amendment) Ordinance, 1953 (West Bengal Ordinance No. V of 1953), under article 213(2)(a) of the Constitution of India.

#### **The Calcutta University (Extension of Term of Office of First Vice-Chancellor) Ordinance, 1953.**

**The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose:** Sir, I beg leave to lay before the Council the Calcutta University (Extension of Term of Office of First Vice-Chancellor) Ordinance, 1953 (West Bengal Ordinance No. VI of 1953), under article 213(2)(a) of the Constitution of India.

#### **Laying of Amendments to the Rules under the West Bengal Premises Rent Control (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1953.**

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** Sir, I beg leave to lay before the Council the amendments to the rules under the West Bengal Premises Rent Control (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1950 (West Bengal Act XVII of 1950), under section 47(3) of the said Act.

### **Adjournment.**

The Council was then adjourned at 10-52 a.m. till 10 a.m. on Wednesday, the 11th November, 1953, at the Legislative Building, Calcutta.

### **Members absent.**

The following members were absent from the meeting held on the 9th November, 1953:—

- (1) Banerjee, Sj. Sunil Kumar.
- (2) Chatterjee, Sj. Devaprasad.
- (3) Majumdar, Sj. Sudhiredra Nath.
- (4) Prodhan, Sj. Lakshman.
- (5) Saraogi, Sj. Pannalal.
- (6) Sarkar, Sj. Pranabeswar.



## COUNCIL DEBATES

*Wednesday, the 11th November, 1953.*

THE COUNCIL met in the Legislative Chamber of the Legislative Buildings, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 11th November, 1953, at 10 a.m., being the 2nd day of the Third Session, under the Constitution of India.

Mr. Chairman (the Hon'ble Dr. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI) was in the Chair.

[10—10.5 a.m.]

### MESSAGES.

**Secretary to the Council (S. A. R. Mukherjee):** The following messages have been received from the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, viz.:—

(1)

#### "Message.

The Calcutta University (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 9th November, 1953, has been duly signed by me and is annexed herewith. The concurrence of the West Bengal Legislative Council to the Bill is requested.

S. K. MUKHERJEE,

*Speaker,*

*West Bengal Legislative Assembly."*

CALCUTTA:

*The 10th November, 1953.*

(2)

#### "Message.

The Contingency Fund of West Bengal (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 9th November, 1953, has been duly signed and certified as a

Money Bill by me and is transmitted herewith to the West Bengal Legislative Council under Article 198, clause (2) of the Constitution of India.

S. K. MUKHERJEE,

*Speaker,*

*West Bengal Legislative Assembly."*

CALCUTTA:

*The 10th November, 1953.*

(3)

#### "Message.

The Calcutta University (Extension of Term of Office of First Vice-Chancellor) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 9th November, 1953, has been duly signed by me and is annexed herewith. The concurrence of the West Bengal Legislative Council to the Bill is requested.

S. K. MUKHERJEE,

*Speaker,*

*West Bengal Legislative Assembly."*

CALCUTTA:

*The 10th November, 1953.*

(4)

#### "Message.

The Bengal Electricity Duty (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 9th November, 1953, has been duly signed and certified as a Money Bill by me and is transmitted herewith to the West Bengal Legislative Council under Article 198, clause (2) of the Constitution of India.

S. K. MUKHERJEE,

*Speaker,*

*West Bengal Legislative Assembly."*

CALCUTTA:

*The 10th November, 1953.*

(5)

**"Message.**

The West Bengal Council of Medical Registration (Extension of Term of Office of Members) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 9th November, 1953, has been duly signed by me and is annexed herewith. The concurrence of the West Bengal Legislative Council to the Bill is requested.

S. K. MUKHERJEE,

*Speaker,*

*West Bengal Legislative Assembly."*

CALCUTTA:

*The 10th November, 1953.*

(6)

**"Message.**

The West Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 10th November, 1953, has been duly signed by me and is annexed herewith. The concurrence of the West Bengal Legislative Council to the Bill is requested.

S. K. MUKHERJEE,

*Speaker,*

*West Bengal Legislative Assembly."*

CALCUTTA:

*The 10th November, 1953.*

Sir, I lay on the table copies of the Bills.

**Point of Privilege.**

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**  
On a point of privilege, Sir.

আমি একাধিকবার বলেছি আমরা যে প্রশ্ন করি তাব উত্তর দেওয়া সম্বন্ধে একটা অনিশ্চয়তা থেকে গেছে। কোন কোন দিন প্রশ্ন ও উত্তর থাকে না। আজকে ১৫ মিনিট পূর্বে এলেও কোন প্রশ্ন ও উত্তর পাইনি। হয়ত আগামী দিনে

আসবে। এ-কিন্তু কোন দিন ইঠাৎ ১৪ মিনিট দেরী হ'লে হয় ত এসে দেখব প্রশ্ন শেষ হয়ে গেছে।

তাই আমি বলছি যদি আগের দিন জানিয়ে তহ'লে অনেক অসুবিধা দূর হয়। অনেক প্রশ্ন ৬ মাস পূর্বে দেওয়া হয়েছিল, কিন্তু তার উত্তর এখনও আসেনি। কাজেই কোন দিন আসবে জানা যায় না। সেই জন্য এক দিন আগে জানিয়ে যদি দেন যে কালকে প্রশ্ন আসবে তাহ'লে বুঝতে পারা যায়।

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:**

আমি গতবার বলেছি কিন্তু তিনি বোঝেননি। এখন আশা করি তিনি বুঝবেন।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

আপনি বুঝিয়ে দিলে হবে না। (সভাপতি মহাশয়কে নির্দেশ করিয়া) উনি এটাকে বুঝিয়ে দিলেন।

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:**

অম্মদাবাদু বলছেন যে উনি যদি ১৫ মিনিট পরে আসেন তাহ'লে কোয়েশেন হয়ে যায়। উনি পরে আসবেন কেন? সময়ে আসবারইত কথা।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

যদি কোন দিন অসুখ হয় এবং ডাক্তারের সার্টিফিকেট দিই ও না আসতে পারি?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:**

যদি অসুখ হয় ভগবানের নাম কববেন। প্রশ্ন নাই বা হ'ল?

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

তাহ'লে কাউন্সিলের মিনিমটার ও মেম্বর না হয়েই ত ভগবানের নাম করতে পারেন।

[10-5—10-10 a.m.]

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:**

একটা কথা বলতে চাই। "কোয়েশেন"এর উত্তর কবে আসবে তার খবর আগে দেওয়া উচিত। আমার দুর্ভাগ্যবশতঃ দেড় বছর আগে প্রশ্ন দিয়েছি, অথচ অনেক প্রয়োজনীয় প্রশ্নের আজ পর্যন্ত জবাব পেলাম না। আমার ত আশা শেষ হয়ে এল। আর বোধ হয় ৪ মাস আছে। তারপর আশা শেষ হবে। কিন্তু এখনও জবাব এল না। আমি ডাঃ রায়কে অনেকবার বলেছি, কিন্তু কোন প্রতীকার হয়নি; আমার প্রশ্ন "এডুকেশন" সম্বন্ধে; "এডুকেশন মিনিমটার" মহাশয় এখানে রয়েছে। আমি করজোড় করে কতবার তাকে বলেছি। কিন্তু যে প্রশ্ন তার "ডিপার্টমেন্টের" লোকের পক্ষে "আনপেজ্যান্ট" তার জবাব আসবে না। তাহ'লে আমাদের এখানে আসবার সার্থকতা কি?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:**

আমি বোধ করি কোরে হয় তার উত্তর আমি দিতে পারব না।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

উনি বলছেন ভগবানের নাম করবেন।

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:**

হ্যাঁ, হ্যাঁ; ভগবানের নাম।

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Another question of privilege, Sir. We members of the Council have not yet received final printed copies of the proceedings of the Legislative Council. I understand, so far as the Legislative Assembly is concerned, they are being distributed at present. I would like to draw your attention to this particular matter.

**Mr. Chairman:** Final copies have not yet been received from the Press. Office is doing its best in the matter and I hope you will get it ere long.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Am I to understand that we shall get them before the end of this session?

**Mr. Chairman:** Yes, you will receive them soon, possibly tomorrow.

#### **Supplementary Estimate of Expenditure for 1953-54.**

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Sir, I beg to present before the Council a Statement of Supplementary Estimate of Expenditure for the year 1953-54 under the provision of Article 205 of the Constitution of India. The total amount covered by the present Supplementary Estimate is Rs. 13,91,56,001 of which voted items account for Rs. 5,91,56,001 only. The position is that Rs. 8 crores out of 13 crores belong to the charged provision under the head "Public Debt". The usual system has been that we purchase through the Cash Credit Account opened with the Imperial Bank of India for various procurement operations and this Cash

Credit Account is covered by the corresponding amount of receipts from sale-proceeds of foodstuff which is credited to the Government. Ordinarily we get Rs. 2 crores in the Budget for making these transactions. Our arrangements with the Imperial Bank are that we can draw up to Rs. 5 crores at a time. Ordinarily, we do not want to draw upon the Bank as far as possible as we have to pay interest for this. Therefore in other years we used our own balances to meet a great part of our demand on this head. But in view of the fact that various development projects have been taken up by us, partly from the revenues, it has not been possible for us to draw largely upon our reserve for this purpose. Therefore we have to take Rs. 8 crores to meet other requirements on this head. Of the voted items, the demand of Rs. 50,00,000 under "57—Miscellaneous—Miscellaneous" represents an additional imprest money and does not by itself constitute any extra expenditure in view of the fact that these advances made out of this Contingency Fund to meet unforeseen charges are met as soon as grants under the respective heads which will be presented to the Assembly have been sanctioned by the Legislature. Two other items, namely, sum of Rs. 9,68,000 under the head "Medical" and Rs. 75,600 out of the provision of Rs. 11,37,000 under "53—Capital Outlay on Electricity Schemes met out of revenue" do not also involve any additional expenditure because they represent book adjustments from one head of account to another on account of inter-departmental transfer of stores. If these amounts are disregarded, the total extra demand comes to Rs. 5,31,13,001. Against this, we will receive loans totalling Rs. 2,12,68,000 from the Government of India for financing certain schemes. For example, Rs. 2 crores on account of scheme for distribution of fertilisers to the cultivators, Rs. 2,68,000 for the hit irrigation scheme and Rs. 10,00,000 for the special tube-well programme. After setting off this amount the net additional demand

amounts to Rs. 3,18,45,001. The bulk of this additional demand falls under the head "54—Famine" and "Loans and Advances" and is due to larger expenditure on gratuitous relief and test relief works and larger payment of loans to agriculturists in consequence of widespread distress during the year. The additional expenditure under these two heads to the extent of Rs. 85,13,000 has already been met from the Contingency Fund which has been enlarged to Rs. 1 crore by the Ordinance and the fund will be re-imbursed on receiving sanction of the Assembly to this expenditure. Demand also has to be met regarding schemes for revisional settlement operations in connection with the Estates Acquisition Scheme. Rupees 13,78,000 has been provided in this estimate for that purpose. Rupees 17,00,000 has been provided for removal of *khatahs* from Calcutta, Rs. 9,50,000 for implementation of the Employees State Insurance Scheme and Rs. 30,00,000 for investment in the West Bengal Finance Corporation to provide credit facilities for small and medium scale industries in West Bengal. The rest of the items are only minor.

With these words I present the Estimates of the Supplementary Budget for the year 1953-54.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, on a point of privilege. Our Finance Minister is a financial wizard. What he understands is difficult for us, ordinary

people, to understand. It will be very convenient if you were to circulate a copy of the speech that he has delivered just now in explanation of the Supplementary Estimates.

**Mr. Chairman:** A copy will be sent to you.

[10-10—10-12 a.m.]

### **Report of the Joint Select Committee on the West Bengal Estates Acquisition Bill, 1953.**

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** Sir, I beg to present before the Council the Report of the Joint Select Committee on the West Bengal Estates Acquisition Bill, 1953.

### **Adjournment:**

The Council was then adjourned at 10-12 a.m. till 10 a.m. on Monday, the 16th November, 1953, at the Legislative Building, Calcutta.

### **Members absent.**

- (1) Banerjee, Sj. Sunil Kumar.
- (2) Banerji, Sj. Sankar Das.
- (3) Guha, Sj. Pratulla Kumar.
- (4) Majumdar, Sj. Sudhirendra Nath.
- (5) Mookerjee, Sj. Kamala Charan.
- (6) Musharruf Hossain, Janab.
- (7) Sarkar, Sj. Pranabeswar.

## COUNCIL DEBATES

*Monday, the 16th November, 1953.*

THE COUNCIL met in the Legislative Chamber of the Legislative Buildings, Calcutta, on Monday, the 16th November, 1953 at 10 a.m. being the 3rd day of the Third Session, under the Constitution of India.

Mr. Chairman (the Hon'ble Dr. SENITI KUMAR CHATTERJI) was in the Chair.

## QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

### West Bengal Legislative Council.

**4. Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Constitution and Elections) Department be pleased to state if the Government has formulated its policy towards the continuance or abolition, as the case may be, of the Second Chamber in West Bengal?

**Minister-in-charge of the Home (Constitution and Elections) Department (the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy):** No. Government do not at present contemplate the abolition of the West Bengal Legislative Council.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Is the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Home (Constitution and Elections) Department aware that in advanced democratic countries the view is that if the Upper Chamber agrees with the Lower Chamber it is supposed to be superfluous and if it differs it is supposed to be dangerous and it then assumes an undemocratic role?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Sir, I do not understand the question. Let him be more explicit.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that according to democratic principle if the Upper Chamber agrees with the Lower Chamber and merely repeats what the Lower Chamber decides it becomes superfluous and if the Upper Chamber differs from the Lower Chamber then it is supposed to be undemocratic and hence dangerous?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** That is a matter of opinion.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Does the Hon'ble Minister propose to use the Second Chamber as a sort of reactionary and conservative bastion?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** That is also a matter of opinion.

**Amount paid to different district boards and municipalities for repair and development of roads.**

**5. Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state—

(a) the amount paid to different district boards and municipalities separately for repair and development of roads in 1947-48 and in 1950-51;

(b) the amount of receipt from—

(i) motor vehicles tax, and

(ii) share of petrol duty in the years 1947-48 and 1950-51; and

(c) the amount proposed to be paid to various district boards and municipalities separately for the repair and development of roads in the year 1952-53 and the estimated receipt from—

(i) motor vehicles tax, and

(ii) share of petrol duty in the same year?

**Minister-in-charge of the Local Self-Government Department (the Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan):** (a) A statement is laid on the Table.

(b)

Year	Receipt from Motor Vehicles Tax.	Receipt as share of petrol duty.
	Rs.	Rs.
1947-48 ..	44,55,329	27,48,822
1950-51 ..	47,00,686	38,61,908

(c) A statement is laid on the Table.

(i) Estimated receipt from motor vehicles tax in the year 1952-53—Rs. 1,07,45,000.

(ii) No estimate is possible, but it is expected that the probable figures will not be less than Rs. 38,61,908 which was the actual receipt for 1950-51.

*Statement referred to in reply to clause (a) of question No. 5.*

			1947-48. Rs.	1950-51. Rs.
District Boards—				
Burdwan	..	..	1,60,000	1,61,000
Birbhum	..	..	1,10,000	1,08,000
Bankura	..	..	1,70,000	1,06,000
Midnapore	..	..	1,90,000	1,63,000
Howrah	..	..	60,000	..
Hooghly	..	..	50,000	26,000
24 Parganas	..	..	90,000	89,000
Nadia	..	..	40,000	46,000
Murshidabad	..	..	30,000	37,000
West Dinajpur	..	..	10,000	94,000
Malda	..	..	10,000	33,000
Darjeeling	..	..	10,000	..
Jalpaiguri	..	..	70,000	5,000
Total	..	..	10,00,000	8,68,000

Municipalities—

Burdwan	..	..	19,200	3,520
Kalna	..	..	10,200	2,200
Katwa	..	..	2,400	2,090
Dainhat	..	..	7,200	1,100
Raniganj	..	..	4,200	660
Asansol	..	..	10,200	2,420
Suri	..	..	17,400	3,080
Bankura	..	..	18,000	1,760
Vishnupur	..	..	13,800	2,530
Sonamukhi	..	..	4,200	660
Midnapore	..	..	28,800	5,280
Tamluk	..	..	4,800	990

			1947-48. Rs.	1950-51. Rs.
<b>Municipalities—</b>				
Ghatal	..	..	3,000	770
Chandrakona	..	..	4,200	770
Ramjibanpore	..	..	2,400	440
Khirpai	..	..	2,400	550
Kharar	..	..	3,000	550
Darjeeling	..	..	9,184	..
Siliguri	..	..	5,453	..
Balurghat	..	..	2,009	..
Raiganj	..	..	4,879	..
Total	..	..	1,98,953	

*Statement referred to in reply to clause (c) of question No. 5.*

			Rs.	(From Procurement Fund.)
<b>District Boards—</b>				
Burdwan	..	..	87,389	
Birbhum	..	..	85,416	
Bankura	..	..	24,566	
Midnapore	..	..	74,630	
Hooghly	..	..	15,960	
24-Parganas	..	..	56,000	
Nadia	..	..	2,000	
Murshidabad	..	..	13,552	
West Dinajpur	..	..	82,171	
Malda	..	..	11,416	
Jalpaiguri	..	..	25,872	
Darjeeling	..	..	2,541	
Total	..	..	4,81,513	

			Rs.	(From Motor Vehicles Tax Fund.)
<b>Municipalities—</b>				
Burdwan	..	..	10,619	
Kalna	..	..	5,166	
Katwa	..	..	6,027	
Asansol	..	..	6,027	
Suri	..	..	8,323	

			Rs.
<b>Municipalities—</b>			
Vishnupur	..	..	7,175
Midnapore	..	..	14,063
Hooghly-Chinsurah	..	..	16,359
Howrah	..	..	50,000
Kandi	..	..	6,027
Ranaghat	..	..	4,592
Krishnagar	..	..	14,350
Barrackpore	..	..	5,740
Baranagar	..	..	7,749
Baraset	..	..	7,175
English Bazar	..	..	4,305
Jalpaiguri	..	..	3,731
			1947-48.
			Rs.
<b>Municipalities—</b>			
Hooghly-Chinsurah	..	..	28,200
Bansberia	..	..	9,000
Serampore	..	..	17,400
Baidyabati	..	..	6,600
Champdany	..	..	9,600
Bhadreswar	..	..	7,800
Rishra	..	..	3,600
Konnagar	..	..	4,200
Kotrung	..	..	4,800
Uttarpara	..	..	5,400
Arambagh	..	..	1,800
Howrah	..	..	59,400
Bally	..	..	15,000
Murshidabad	..	..	4,800
Berhampore	..	..	18,600
Kandi	..	..	9,000
Dhulian	..	..	2,400
Jangipur	..	..	5,400
Jiaganj-Azimganj	..	..	6,600
Nabadwip	..	..	11,400
Ranaghat	..	..	6,600
			1950-51.
			Rs.
			4,950
			1,650
			2,970
			1,320
			1,210
			1,430
			660
			990
			770
			880
			330
			50,000
			2,750
			2,090
			3,410
			1,540
			330
			990
			1,320
			2,220
			1,110



			1947-48.	1950-51.		
			Rs.	Rs.		
<b>Municipalities—</b>						
Birnagar	..	..	4,800	1,540		
Chakdah	..	..	1,800	220		
Krishnagar	..	..	15,600	2,640		
Santipur	..	..	12,600	770		
Kanchrapara	..	..	4,200	660		
Halisahar	..	..	10,200	1,870	} Withheld.	
Naihati	..	..	7,800	1,430		
Bhatpara	..	..	21,000	3,850		
Garulia	..	..	7,800	1,320		
North Barrackpore	..	..	9,000	500	(Rs.1,150 was withheld.)	with
Barrackpore	..	..	11,400	1,980	Withheld.	
Titagarh	..	..	5,400	880		
Khardah	..	..	6,000	990		
Panihati	..	..	15,600	2,860		
Kamarhati	..	..	10,200	1,870		
Baranagar	..	..	15,600	2,860		
North Dum Dum	..	..	5,400	990		
South Dum Dum	..	..	9,000	1,650		
Dum Dum	..	..	4,800	880		
Tollygunge	..	..	16,800	2,970		
South Suburban	..	..	37,800	6,820		
Budge Budge	..	..	7,800	1,430		
Rajpur	..	..	16,200	2,860		
Baruipur	..	..	6,600	1,210		
Joynagar-Majilpur	..	..	5,400	880		
Garden Reach	..	..	13,200	2,420		
Baraset	..	..	10,200	1,760		
Gobardanga	..	..	9,600	1,650		
Baduria	..	..	5,400	880		
Basirhat	..	..	13,800	2,530		
Taki	..	..	5,400	990		
Old Malda	..	..	3,600	660		
English Bazar	..	..	6,600	1,210		
Jalpaiguri	..	..	6,000	1,100		
Darjeeling	..	..	16,800	3,080		
Kurseong	..	..	4,200	660		
Kalimpong	..	..	..	770		
Siliguri	..	..	..	..		
Balurghat	..	..	..	..		
Raiganj	..	..	..	..		
<b>Total</b>	..	..	<b>7,56,800</b>	<b>1,65,450</b>		

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় মন্ত্রীহাশয় বলবেন কি এই যে ডিস্ট্রিক্ট বোর্ড ও মিউনিসিপালিটিকে রাস্তা মেরামতের জন্য যে সমস্ত "মোটর ভিহিকলস্ ট্যাক্স" ও "পেট্রোল ডিউটি" থেকে টাকা দেওয়া হয় তাব পরিমাণ নির্ধারণ করার নীতিটা কি?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:**

Government has taken over many of the district board roads and it has got extensive programme with regard to roads. That is the reason why less amounts are being paid to these institutions.

[10-5—10-10 a.m.]

**Sj. Annada Prasad Choudhuri:**

"সার"! আমি কয় দেওয়া হচ্ছে কি বেশী দেওয়া হচ্ছে তা জিজ্ঞাসা করি নি; যাক্, আমি ইংরাজীতে বলি, তাহলে বোধ উনি ভাল বুঝবেন।

Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the basis in calculating the amount of grants to be paid to local bodies—the municipalities and the district boards?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:**

So far as municipalities are concerned the grants are made on the basis of metalled and unmetalled roads under each municipality.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

On the basis of the reply just now made there are two answers—one in respect of grants already made in the years 1947-48 and 1950-51 and in this connection I would take, for instance, the Bankura Municipality or the Bankura District Board, and the other in respect of the replies to clause (c) where there is no mention of the grants, whereas the mileage under the district board or the municipality has remained the same in regard to the pucca roads.

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:**

The position is that the Government has decided that instead of aiding the municipalities every year with a small grant it is better to give each municipality sufficient grant every third year. Therefore all the municipalities do not receive grants every year.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

With reference to the answer just now given, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why I find nothing provided for the Bankura Municipality for the year 1952-53 while the same municipality got Rs. 18,000 in 1947-48 and Rs. 1,760 in 1950-51?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:**

Because the Bankura Municipality does not come in within this year's allotment of the grant.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

But what happened last year?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:**

The municipality received Rs. 1,760. The total amount was two lakhs out of which Rs. 50,000 was given to the Howrah Municipality and the rest was divided among the different municipalities. In 1947-48 a larger sum was paid out of the motor vehicles tax and that was the reason why the amount was heavier. If you look at the statement you will find that the total amount paid to the municipalities in 1947-48 was Rs. 7,56,000 whereas in 1950-51 it was Rs. 1,65,000.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

With reference to the reply just now given and in view of the fact that the estimates of receipt for 1952-53 are more than double of the previous years does the Hon'ble Minister contemplate to encourage a spirit of decentralisation or does he propose to centralise everything to the State Government?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:**

So far, our policy has been that the Government should take over more and more roads from the municipalities and district boards. But the demand on Government has become much higher than before and therefore, so far as the future is concerned, it is a matter for consideration as to how far we shall encourage centralisation.

[10-10—10-15 a.m.]

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

Sir, the Hon'ble Minister a little while ago said that the grants were

[Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri.]  
made on the basis of road mileage. Have they given up that basis of calculation so far as the Howrah Municipality is concerned and what about other municipalities?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:**

As regards Howrah, it is on a special basis. Rupees 50,000 has been given as a lump sum irrespective of road mileage. So far as the other municipalities are concerned, they are given on the road mileage basis.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

Sir, my question under (c) was "the amount proposed to be paid to various district boards and municipalities separately for the repair and development of roads in the year 1952-53, and the estimated receipt from etc." Does the Hon'ble Minister consider that the reply that has been given in respect of my question (c) is complete or there is yet something to be supplied?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:**

So far as that question is concerned, I believe it is complete.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:**

The Road Development Department has referred the matter to the Local Self-Government Department that the roads where motor buses have permits to ply should also enjoy some amount of priority, because these buses pay heavy taxes and they spoil the roads much more quickly than ordinary motor traffic. We are now considering the proposal whether we cannot also give priority to these roads of the municipalities or of the district boards over which for the convenience of the public bus permits have been given. Therefore we are gradually evolving schemes in the light of our experience in the different areas.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

Sir, appreciating what the Chief Minister has just now said, will the Hon'ble Minister examine or is he aware that roads in Kharar and Ramjibanpur Municipalities in the

subdivision of Ghatal which are centres of rural industries are so bad that motor car or bus traffic remains suspended for six months in the year? These two municipalities received in the year 1947-48 grants of Rs. 3,000 and 2,400 respectively, they received Rs. 550 and Rs. 450 in the year 1950-51 but nothing is estimated to be paid this year.

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:**

I have already stated that so far as the policy with regard to the grants to these municipalities is concerned, it is what I have just now said, all the municipalities cannot be paid in the same year and necessarily they have to be spread over three years. So far as the roads are concerned, it is true that the municipalities' roads are in a bad condition. They do require repair and so far as that matter is concerned, Government is alive to it. The question is as to how it is to be done and how far local bodies should share the expenditure.

[10-15—10-20 a.m.]

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to explain why neither the basis of the road mileage in a particular district or municipality has been acted up to all these years nor has the expression of opinion made by the Hon'ble Chief Minister been accepted in practice so far as these last four years are concerned?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:**

I said just now that this is a matter which came up before the Roads Department last month. So you cannot expect action to have been taken on it four years ago.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

Then it is better for him not to make this statement because it is irrelevant.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:**

Then I am sorry I wasted my breath over making Annada Babu understand.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

I do not want to understand a

hypothetical case. I am a businessman and I think I am dealing with a businessman.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Your question was why it was not done four years ago. To that my answer is that the matter is being considered now. It could not have application four years ago.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Is the Minister-in-charge of Local Self-Government aware of the policy that has just now been enunciated by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** I may tell my friend that so far as the roads are concerned they are not directly under the Local Self-Government Department. There is the Works and Buildings Department which takes up road affairs. We are only incidentally aware of what is being done. Then there is the Development Department which is partially concerned with roads. Therefore, so far as roads are concerned, practically speaking, they are under the Works and Buildings Department and the Development Department.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Then why did not the Minister plead ignorance?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** There is no question of pleading ignorance. As this question has been put to me, so far as my department is aware of the position, I am answering the question.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Why was not the matter left to the Chief Minister? Why was the Minister almost on the point of misleading the House?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** There is no question of misleading the House. The question was addressed to my department. My department is aware of something which is being done in respect of district boards and municipalities, and naturally we have answered the

question to the extent of the information in our possession. So far as direct responsibility is concerned, it is not the direct responsibility of the Local Self-Government Department. These affairs are really managed partly by the Works and Buildings Department and partly by the Development (Roads) Department.

**Sj. K. P. Chattopadhyay:** My friend Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri has pointed out that certain places are practically inaccessible by motor bus owing to the bad condition of the road. There is another village, Birsingha, the birth place of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, where there is a big High School, and where there is a memorial hall which is largely visited by people all over Bengal. That place has also become inaccessible during the many months owing to the hopeless condition of the road.

**Mr. Chairman:** That is not a supplementary question.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** He is coming to that.

**Sj. K. P. Chattopadhyay:** Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any amount has been allocated for repairing it? A representation has recently been made concerning it.

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** I ask for notice to answer that question. That question does not specifically concern me.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** The Hon'ble Minister just now stated that they were trying to allocate the funds received from motor vehicles tax and petrol duty to various municipalities. But may I request him to look into the list just now supplied? For instance, I shall read out two or three of the items: Tamruk received Rs. 4,800 in 1947-48; in 1950-51 that municipality received Rs. 990; and nothing is provided in 1952-53. Take Ghatal; it received Rs. 3,000 in 1947-48; after three years it got Rs. 770; nothing has been provided for the current year.

[Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri.]

Another instance Chandrakona Municipality; Rs. 4,300 in 1947-48; Rs. 770 in 1950-51; nothing in 1952-53. Shall I then take it that the basis which was just now mentioned is being observed more in the breach than in acting up to it?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** I have already explained to my friend that every municipality is not being paid every year. Therefore those municipalities do not appear under 1952-53. Either they received something last year or the year before. That is the position. It is not that the policy is not being followed.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** With reference to the statement in reply to clause (a) of the question, we find in 1947-48 Howrah District Board was allotted Rs. 60,000, but no allotment was made to it in 1950-51 or in 1952-53. Will the Hon'ble Minister please explain why the Howrah District Board did not receive any grant these years; is it due to the fact that the district of Howrah returned many non-Congress M.L.As.?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Very clever indeed!  
[10-20—10-25 a.m.]

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** Well, so far as the grants to district boards are concerned they were discontinued with effect from the year 1949-50. Now what is being paid to the district board is from the Procurement Fund and not from any other fund. The Procurement Fund relates to where repairs of roads are required on account of the activities of the procurement of food and other things and therefore the grants are made to the municipalities from that fund and not from the Motor Vehicles Fund or from any other fund.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** The Hon'ble Minister has given the answer that the district boards and municipalities have been paid from the Procurement

Fund for repair and development of roads and so on but apart from this, Sir, a large amount of money is being paid to different areas from the Development Fund. The Hon'ble Minister has already replied to the question about the number of roads that have been constructed. The question is limited to one particular aspect of the road building, that is what has been paid to the district boards and municipalities for repairs. The money paid by the Works and Buildings Department is not included in this fund. Therefore the answer that we have given is merely in respect of the question that has been put in, and no room is left for answering any other question. Therefore it is wrong for any member to say that the Hon'ble Minister is trying to mislead the members of the Council.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** The Hon'ble Minister just now stated that the Works and Buildings Department also spends money. For his information I say that I have inquired of the Minister-in-charge, Works and Buildings Department, who says that his department has nothing to do with road repairs.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** I do not agree. It may be that the Works and Buildings Department do not provide money for repairs of roads for that particular area which Sj. Choudhuri has inquired of him but they provide money for repairs in other parts of West Bengal.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** The Minister-in-charge of Works and Buildings Department has written to me, and I have that letter with me, whatever the Chief Minister might say, that the Works and Buildings Department has got nothing to do with repairs of road. I should like to know the specific areas where the Works and Buildings Department has provided money for repairs.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** That information cannot be supplied as it was not asked for in his question.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that in the allotment of funds for repairs no action has been taken by the parties or persons who are in power in these local bodies.

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** No.

[10-25—10-30 a.m.]

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is in the contemplation of Government to decentralise the administration of these funds in respect of the maintenance of roads and other things or to centralise them under the State Government?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** I have already stated the present position.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Does not the Hon'ble Minister think that decentralisation would lead to greater efficiency?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** That is a matter of opinion.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** What is his experience in the matter?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** I have got no experience.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** It is a pity that the Minister has got no experience.

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** You may think so but that is a fact.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if out of the money allotted to the district boards any sum has been expended on the foreshore road at Digha which is being developed by the West Bengal Co-operative Department?

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** I ask for notice.

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:** You can put that question to the Works and Buildings Department.

**Mr. Chairman:** I think there has been quite a number of supplementary questions on this matter and I do not think further supplementaries are required. Questions over.

### Message.

**Secretary to the Council:** (Sj. A. R. MUKHERJEE): Sir, the following message has been received from the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, viz:—

### “Message.”

The Bengal Board of Revenue (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 12th November, 1953, has been duly signed by me and is annexed herewith. The concurrence of the West Bengal Legislative Council to the Bill is requested.

S. K. MUKHERJEE,

*Speaker,*

*West Bengal Legislative Assembly.”*

CALCUTTA:

*The 13th November, 1953*

Sir, I lay a copy of the Bill on the table.

### Point of Privilege.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** On a point of privilege, Sir. I want to draw your attention to the fact that I put in a short-notice question about the firing at Deulti. I have given sufficient notice to the Minister-in-charge. May I know what is the reason for delaying to answer the question? There has been ample time to answer it.

**Mr. Chairman:** As far as I understand it is not a question of privilege but of convenience. The department has taken note of your question, and I am sure that the Minister-in-charge will reply to your question very soon.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Sir, I want to impress upon the Chief Minister the desirability of answering this question because it is an important matter.

### Freedom of the Press.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, I seek your permission to raise an important matter and also seek your direction as to the procedure that ought to be adopted. This matter refers to the rights and liberty of the citizens of India. Under the Constitution of India freedom of the Press is guaranteed. Now after the publication of the Report of the Commission of Enquiry that the Government appointed in connection with the alleged assault on the Pressmen under the Ochterlony Monument an emergency has been created and it is the right and privilege of this House to discuss that report—that report which has encroached upon the freedom of the Press and upon the dissemination of Press news.

**Mr. Chairman:** We have not got that Report before the House and I do not think we can take up the consideration of that Report.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Will you kindly state, when this House has made a grievance, when an opportunity to discuss that Report will be given?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** At no time, Sir.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** That is the reply of a fascist and not of a democratic Chief Minister.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** It was a case of enquiry instituted by Government and the report is with the Government and the Government will consider the matter. It is not a question of the liberty of the Press. It shows that it was a licence given to the Press. Therefore that question does not arise here.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** This is a matter that

does affect the privilege of the citizens and I am surprised to find that the Chief Minister has taken up this attitude.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** I agree to differ with you in this matter.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Is the Hon'ble Minister prepared to publish the report and place it before the Council?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** No, it is not for discussion.

**Mr. Chairman:** The Chief Minister has said that Government will take due regard of the report and as it is a matter of administration it cannot be taken up now by the Council.

### Census Report.

[10-30—10-35 a.m.]

**Janab Abdul Halim:**

“মিঃ চেয়ারম্যান, স্যার!” আমি আপনাব কাছে আবেদন করছি গভর্ণমেন্টের যত “পাবলিকেশন” বেব হয় সেই সব ও “সেন্সাস” রিপোর্ট “এর” “কপি” সমস্ত মেশবেরব কাছে যেন “সংশ্লাই” করা হয়, অন্ততঃ বাংলাদেশের “সেন্সাস” এর “রিপোর্ট” টা প্রত্যেকেই পাওয়া উচিত।

আশা করি আপনি সে ব্যবস্থা করবেন।

**Mr. Chairman:** It is for the Government to decide how the distribution should be made. When we receive them in the Council we shall certainly distribute them.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

আমি প্রায় ১ বৎসব হ'ল এই প্রশ্নের উত্তর দেওয়া সম্বন্ধে আপনার দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি। কিন্তু আপনার কথা আমার কাছে একটা চিঠি গিয়েছে যে আজ আমার প্রশ্নের উত্তর দেওয়া হবে। আমি ত পূর্বে ৪১৫ বার আপনার দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করেছি, কিন্তু এখন যে বন্দোবস্ত হয়েছে এ বন্দোবস্ত করার জন্য আমি শৃঙ্খল নই এই গুহে যারা প্রশ্ন দেন তাদের সকলেরই সুবিধা হয়েছে। এর জন্য আমি আপনাকে ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি। আমি আরও ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি প্রধান মন্ত্রীমহাশয়কে যে সৌজন্য আপনার কাছে এ বিষয়ে নিবেদন করার আগে আমি গুর সঙ্গো আলাপ করেছিলাম; উনিও আমার এই দাবীটা সমর্থন করেছিলেন; এজন্য তাঁকেও ধন্যবাদ দিচ্ছি। তবে বলি যে আমি যখন আপনার কাছে নিবেদন জানাই তখন উনি একটা অশোভন উক্তি করেছিলেন। সেদিকে আপনার দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি। (জনৈক সদস্যঃ ধন্যবাদের সঙ্গে অশোভন উক্তি!)

**Mr. Chairman:** I hope you are satisfied now.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** Let me finish, Sir.

আমি যখন সেদিন আপনার কাছে নিবেদন করি আমি জ্ঞানি ওর ক্ষমতা অসীম এবং ওঁদের ভোটেই আপনি নির্বাচিত হয়েছেন, কিন্তু আমাদের সকলেরই আপনাকে "চেয়ারম্যান"—

### Point of Order.

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** Sir, I rise on a point of order. Is it not a reflection on the Chair.....?

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhatta-charyya:** It is not a reflection.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** Let me finish.

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** A point of order is to be raised when the offence is committed.

**Mr. Chairman:** Well, I do not think it is a reflection on the Chair and let us bury the hatchet here.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** Your leader did something wrong and I was going to rectify it.

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** I have raised point of order and the Chairman is to give his ruling to the point of order and it is whether a member is entitled to say "You have been elected by their votes". This is casting an aspersion on the impartiality of the Chair.

**Mr. Chairman:** I think he was going to submit something more.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** Sir, let him not sit in judgment over this; I know he is a *pucca* attorney.....

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** If the Chair thinks that it is not a reflection, there ends the matter. But the point of order should be raised immediately when the offence is committed and not later on. If the Chair thinks that this is no reflection on the Chair, then I have nothing to say.

**Mr. Chairman:** When he made that observation that I have been elected mainly "through the

support of their votes", there were some members on the other side who said it was through their votes also. And somebody said "unanimously". So, I allowed him to finish his speech.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhatta-charyya:** Sir, you were elected unanimously.

**Mr. Chairman:** However, I think the matter has been discussed sufficiently and if there is nothing substantial in the discussion, we might pass on to the next item. We have understood your kindly sentiments after the happy reply received from you.

[10-35—10-40 a.m.]

### GOVERNMENT BILLS.

**The Calcutta University (Amendment) Bill, 1953.**

**The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose:** Sir, I beg to move that the Calcutta University (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhatta-charyya:** Sir, I rise to support the motion that has just now been moved before the House. But I feel that I shall be failing in my duty if I were not to speak a few words on this motion. You are aware, Sir, that the Calcutta University Bill, 1951, was placed on the Statute Book some time in the middle of 1951. A few months later part of it came to be enforced for the purpose of constituting the University bodies contemplated in the Act. As soon as this was implemented it was noticed that it contained all kinds of anomalies, inconsistencies and contradictions, and our Vice-Chancellor was hard put to it to give effect to the Act because of the presence of these anomalies and inconsistencies. Fortunately the Education Minister quickly came to his rescue and an ordinance was passed, but I hope, Sir, that he has not forgotten that the Act contains many inconsistencies and contradictions. It is therefore necessary that a more comprehensive Amending Bill



[Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya.]

should be brought forward in the future. But before he does so, I believe he will be good enough to give the new University bodies the opportunity of expressing their views.

With these words, Sir, I support the Bill.

**The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, what has fallen from the honourable member will be borne in mind, but in the meantime I request that the Council will consider and pass the Bill before us.

The motion of the Hon'ble Pannalal Bose that the Calcutta University (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration, was then put and agreed to.

*Clause 1.*

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

*Clause 2.*

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

*Clause 3.*

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

*Clause 4.*

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

*Clause 5.*

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

*Preamble.*

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

**The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose:** Sir, I beg to move that the Calcutta University (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as settled in the Council, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

[10-40—10-45 a.m.]

**The Contingency Fund of West Bengal (Amendment) Bill, 1953.**

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Sir, I beg to move that the Contingency Fund of West Bengal (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly and transmitted to the West Bengal Legislative Council for its recommendations, be taken into consideration.

The motion was put and agreed to.

**The Calcutta University (Extension of Term of Office of First Vice-Chancellor) Bill, 1953.**

**The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose:** Sir, I beg to move that the Calcutta University (Extension of Term of Office of First Vice-Chancellor) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration.

The motion was put and agreed to.

*Clause 1.*

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was put and agreed to.

*Clause 2.*

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, I would like to speak on clause 2. Sir, I feel that there is a necessity for this amending Act but I also feel and those who are connected with University know that the First Vice-Chancellor has been framing such regulations, statutes and ordinances which are not really warranted by the section which authorises him to do so. Sir, under section 52, sub-section 3, read with sub-section 2 the position that has been given to the First Vice-Chancellor is that he will be expected to draw up statutes, regulations and ordinances that are necessary for bringing new University bodies into existence. My

information is that the present Vice-Chancellor has been going far beyond this and he has been changing regulations or courses of study without any consultation with the existing academic bodies. Sir, this is a matter which is rather important because the courses of study and syllabus should be framed in consultation with academic bodies. This House, I am sure, will not like the idea that the courses of study which have been in existence for a considerable length of time and which have been decided upon after discussion in the academic bodies should be interfered with by one single individual, namely, the First Vice-Chancellor. That is a matter to which I would like to draw your attention. We shall be grateful, Sir, to the Education Minister if he would advise His Excellency the Chancellor to communicate to the Vice-Chancellor this idea, the idea that his function under section 52, sub-section 3, is really to frame such regulations, such statutes and ordinances as are necessary for the purpose of bringing into existence the University bodies and not to interfere with the long standing regulations. I hope, Sir, that the Minister of Education will kindly reply on this particular point.

[10-45—10-50 a.m.]

**The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose:** Sir, as the learned Professor has pointed out, the object of the Act is to reconstitute the University. For that purpose the authorities of the University are going to be changed by election or by appointment. Now, so far as this changing or reconstituting of authorities is concerned the honourable member is aware that the first Vice-Chancellor has to do it in consultation with the Committee, and the honourable member is also aware that he has been causing the statutes, ordinances and regulations to be framed so that elections may take place according to those statutes, ordinances and regulations. Now, following this policy he has constituted all the authorities except the

last, namely, the Syndicate. As I said in the other House, the election is going to take place on the 2nd January. If, however, in performing his duties he is doing or has to do anything which is not strictly consistent with the Act I should say that this is a piece of information of which I had no idea before. So far as he is concerned his duty is a limited one of carrying on the University work and at the same time constituting or changing the authorities so that on a given date a new University might be born. In the meantime the Act does not contemplate that he should introduce extensive reform of that kind. But I do not say that all this has taken place. All that I say is that we simply want an extension of time because the reconstruction that is going on could not be expected to be over by the middle of September last and for that reason we are bound to change the statutory period by a short time. This is all that I have got to say.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Thank you, Sir.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

*Preamble.*

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

**The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose:** Sir, I beg to move that the Calcutta University (Extension of Term of Office of First Vice-Chancellor) Bill, 1953, as settled in the Council, be passed.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

"সার"! এই "বিল" পাশ করার দরকার আছে। যখন "অর্ডিন্যান্স" ছিল এবং "অর্ডিন্যান্স" এর জীবনকাল যখন শেষ হয়ে গেল তখন এ "বিল" পাশ না কোবে উপায় নাই। তবে মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করতে চাই যে, যে "ভাইস-চ্যান্সেলর" মহাশয়ের কার্যকাল বাড়িয়ে দেবার জন্য এই "বিল" আনা হয়েছে সেই "ভাইস-চ্যান্সেলর" মহাশয় এতদিন যে কাজ করেছেন তাব মধ্যে যেসব অসুবিধা "ইউনিভার্সিটি"-তে ঘটেছে সে বিষয়ে মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করতে চাই। কয়েকটি সাধারণ বিষয় আছে — "ইউনিভার্সিটি"র দৈনন্দিন কার্য

[Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri.]

পরিচালনায় যেমন পাঠ্যপুস্তক “সিলেকশন”—সেই পাঠ্যপুস্তক “সিলেকশন” করার ভাব তাঁর উপর; কিন্তু এমনভাবে কাজ চলে আসছে যে এক বৎসরের পাঠ্যপুস্তক তার পরের বৎসর আসে; তখনও “সিলেকটেড” হয় নি। তারপরে “ডক্টরেট”—এর “থিসিস” বা দেওয়া হয় “ডি-ফিল” বা “ডি-এস-সি” সেই “থিসিস”ও অতি বিলম্বে ছাপিয়ে “পাব্লিশ” করা হয়। সে বিষয়ে পরীক্ষার ফল এবং “ইউনিভার্সিটি”র মতামত প্রকাশ করতে অত্যন্ত দেরী হয়, এমনকি এক বৎসর-দেড় বৎসর পর্যন্ত লাগে। এখানে একজন “ডক্টর” বসে আছেন (ডক্টর মনোদ্র নাথ চক্রবর্তীকে দেখাইয়া) তিনিও তাঁর অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে বলেছেন যে ১ বৎসর-২ই বৎসর দেরী হয়ে যায়। তার আগে “ইউনিভার্সিটি”র মতামত জানতে পারা যায় না এবং যারা “থিসিস” দিয়ে পরীক্ষা দিয়েছেন তারাও জানতে পারেন না।

এর আগে “ইউনিভার্সিটি”তে যত “লেকচারার” ছিলেন তারা “ভোট” দিতে পারতেন, এখন কেবল “প্রফেসর”দেরই “ভোট” দেবার অধিকার আছে। “লেকচারার”রা যাতে “ভোট” দেবার অধিকার পান সেদিকে দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি। আরও যেসব অভিযোগ শুনি তা যদি সত্য হয় এবং বহু ক্ষেত্রে যদি হয়ে থাকে তাহলে আমি বলব যে এই বকম “ভাইস-চ্যান্সেলর”এর কার্যকাল আরও ২½ বৎসর বাড়িয়ে দিলে গভর্ণমেন্ট এবং বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় কারও গোরব বাড়বে না। বি. এল. মিত্র “কমিটি”র যে “রিপোর্ট” সেই “রিপোর্ট”এ অনেক কিছু গলদের কথা বলা হয়েছে, যদিও সেই “রিপোর্ট” আমাদের কাছে উপস্থিত করা হয় নি—কিন্তু সরকার সে বিষয়ে হস্তক্ষেপ করতে বাধ্য হয়েছেন তার জন্য মনে করি এই সমস্ত জিনিস এই “ভাইস-চ্যান্সেলর” স্বারাই হউক বা অন্য লোকের স্বারাই হউক সেই সব গলদ যাতে দূর করা যায় সে বিষয়ে যেন গভর্ণমেন্ট অবিহত হ’ন।

[10-50—10-55 a.m.]

The motion of the Hon’ble Pannalal Bose that the Calcutta University (Extension of Term of Office of First Vice-Chancellor) Bill, 1953, as settled in the Council be passed was then put and agreed to.

### The Bengal Electricity Duty (Amendment) Bill, 1953.

**The Hon’ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Electricity Duty (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly and transmitted to the West Bengal Legislative Council for its recommendations, be taken into consideration.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, as you know, there is no Statement of Objects and Reasons attached to the present

Bill and therefore for laymen like ourselves it is rather difficult to follow the provision of the present Bill. I shall appreciate very much if the Chief Minister kindly explain the scope of section 2 in the amending Bill.

**The Hon’ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Sir, at the present moment the Bengal Electricity Duty Act of 1935 is operating in this province and under the relevant section—think section 3—it is laid down that any person who is a licensee shall recover the duty from the consumer and section 5 lays down that who generates electricity can recover it. There has been an amendment of the Act two years ago in which it is laid down that the Government which is neither a licensee nor one who generates can levy duty, as in the case of Barrackpore. This particular amendment has been brought forward for this reason that there is another type of case for instance, in Chittaranjan Locomotive Works who are not licensees they do not generate electricity nor are the Government, but they supply electricity to their consumers in the local area and in order to regularise the collection of duty in such cases this amendment has been brought. This type of examples may be multiplied in future, because Damodar Valley gives supply of electricity to Chittaranjan. It is not generating nor a licensee but is distributing current to the consumers. Similar instances might occur in other parts of the Damodar Valley Corporation area which is under the Bengal Government, where also the supplier may not be a licensee or may not be the Government but may be an organisation like Chittaranjan. Therefore, we have added the words “or supplied” after the words “who generated”, in order that the supplier of current may be also required to recover the duty for the electricity supplied.

[10-55—11 a.m.]

The motion of the Hon’ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy that the Bengal Electricity Duty (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as passed by the

West Bengal Legislative Assembly and transmitted to the West Bengal Legislative Council for its recommendations, be taken into consideration, was then put and agreed to.

**Mr. Chairman:** There are no amendments and the Bill will be transmitted to the Assembly without any recommendation.

### The West Bengal Council of Medical Registration (Extension of Term of Office of Members) Bill, 1953.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Amulyadhan Mukharji:** Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Council of Medical Registration (Extension of Term of Office of Members) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

#### Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

#### Clause 2.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** Sir, I beg to move that in clause 2, line 5, for the words and figures "14th day of January, 1955", the words and figures "31st day of March, 1954" be substituted.

এই যে "কাউন্সিল অব মেডিক্যাল রেজিস্ট্রেশন"—এর যারা "মেম্বর"—তারা অনেক দিন আছেন সেইজন্য জনসাধারণ এবং "ইন্ডিয়ান মেডিক্যাল এসোসিয়েশন" এর মত যে তাড়াতাড়ি "ইলেকশন" কোরে "কাউন্সিল" এর পরিবর্তন হওয়া দরকার। কিন্তু সরকার পক্ষের কথা হচ্ছে যে স্বেচ্ছাবে "ইলেকশন" কোরে নতুন "কাউন্সিল" গঠন করার জন্য বর্তমান যে "কাউন্সিল" আছে তার জীবনকাল ১৯৫৫ সালের ১৪ই জানুয়ারী পর্যন্ত বাড়িয়ে দেওয়া হউক। আমি বলি এই "কাউন্সিল" এর যারা "ভোটার" তাদের সংখ্যা ১৫১৬ হাজার। তাদের যদি "ইলেকশন" করতে হয় ত এরজন্য ৩ মাসের বেশী সময় লাগা উচিত নয়। তাই ১৯৫৪ সালের ১৪ই জানুয়ারী যখন এই "কাউন্সিল" এর আয়ুষ্কাল শেষ হবে তার মধ্যে যদি সব না করতে পারা যায় এবং যদি সময় বাড়তে চান ত ১৯৫৪ সালের ৩১শে মার্চ পর্যন্ত বাড়ান। এর আগে সরকার পক্ষের সঙ্গে আমার আলোচনা হয়েছে। তাঁরা মনে

করেন যে তা যদি আমার প্রস্তাব অনুসারে করতে হয় তাহলে একটা "অর্ডিন্যান্স" জারী কোরে ১৯৫৪ সালের ১৫ই জানুয়ারী যখন বর্তমান "কাউন্সিল" এর সময় শেষ হবে তখন আমরা "ইন্ডিয়ান মেডিক্যাল এসোসিয়েশন" এর সহিত পরামর্শ করে একটা "নামিনেটেড বডি" যদি তাড়াতাড়ি করতে পারি তাহলে কাজ চলতে পারে। (জনৈক সদস্য: আমরা "নামিনেশন" এর বিরোধী।) ঠুঁটা বলেন ঠুঁটা "নামিনেশন" এর বিরুদ্ধে। তাহলেও গভর্ণমেন্ট কোন কোন সময় যে "নামিনেশন" করেন না তা নয়। দৃষ্টান্তস্বরূপ বলছি যেখানে অতি অল্প দিনের মধ্যে ৫৬ মাসের মধ্যে "ইলেকশন" করা যেতো ২৪-পর্বগণা জেলা "বোর্ড" এ সেখানে গভর্ণমেন্ট "ইলেকশন" না কোরে হয়ত কোন কারণে কোন লোককে কাজ দিতে হবে বা কাউকে বসাতে হবে বা ঐকম্ম কিছু করতে হবে বোলে "ইন পার্টিক ইন্টারেস্ট" এই কথা বোলে ২৪-পর্বগণা জেলা "বোর্ড" কে "ডিসমিস" করেছেন এবং সে জায়গায় "নামিনেশন" করা হয়েছে। এ জায়গায় "ইন্ডিয়ান মেডিক্যাল কাউন্সিল" যদি মনে করে যে "ইলেকশন" কোরে নতুন "বোর্ড" গঠন করা উচিত তথ্যাপ "ইলেকশন" করতে দেবী হবে বা খবচ হবে বলে তার জন্য গভর্ণমেন্টের তরফ থেকে এই "আউট মোডেড কাউন্সিল" কে ১৯৫৫ সাল পর্যন্ত জিইয়ে রাখার সার্থকতা বৃদ্ধি ন। তাই গভর্ণমেন্টের কাছে অনুৰোধ জানাচ্ছি ১৯৫৪ সালের ১৫ই জানুয়ারী যখন বর্তমান "কাউন্সিল" এর মেয়াদ শেষ হবে তার মধ্যে যদি "ইলেকশন" না করা যায় তাহলে অন্ততঃ ১৯৫৪ সালের ৩১শে মার্চ পর্যন্ত বাড়িয়ে "ইলেকশন" কোরে নিন। আমি শুনছি যারা বর্তমানে "মেম্বর" আছেন যাদের ভোটদাতাদের সংখ্যা ১৫১৬ হাজার, তারা ন্যাক ঠিক "রিপ্রেজেন্টেটিভ" নয়, তাদের মধ্যে কিছু লোক বাদ যাবে এবং কিছু নতুন "ভোটার"ও ন্যাক আসবে সেট পক্ষসম্মত জনা, এখন "ইলেকশন" করা যাবে না, আরও ৬ মাস-৮ মাস বা ৯ মাস পরে "ইলেকশন" করা যেতে পারবে। সে অসুবিধার কথা আমি মানি না। যদি "নামিনেশন" করতে ঠুঁটের ভয় থাকে, অন্য ক্ষেত্রে কলংও এ ক্ষেত্রে যদি ভয় থাকে, তাহলেও অন্য অন্য "বডিজ" আছে যেমন "ইন্ডিয়ান মেডিক্যাল এসোসিয়েশন", তাদের মত নিয়ে কয়েকজন মনোনীত সভ্যদের দিয়ে ত কিছু দিন চালাতে পারেন। কিন্তু এই "আউটমোডেড বডি"র জীবনকাল বাড়ান আর যেন না হয়।

[11—11-5 a.m.]

**The Hon'ble Dr. Amulyadhan Mukharji:** Sir, I have listened to the arguments put forward by Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri. I am afraid he has forgotten the genesis why this Bill has been brought before the House. The term of office of the present Council expires on the 14th January, 1954. We in the Government have

[The Hon'ble Dr. Amulyadhar Mukharji.]

already taken note of the various recommendations sent to the Government by the West Bengal Council of Medical Registration from time to time and we are convinced that the present Act that is now in operation is outmoded and it should be brought in line with the modern democratic principle and as such we have taken upon ourselves the responsibility of amending the original Bill. That cannot be done before the ensuing Budget Session and after the Bill is accepted by both the Houses it will take at least 3 to 4 months to frame new election rules and get the electoral rolls revised. That would take another 3 to 4 months. The election procedure would take a minimum period of 4 months—such as calling for objections in the voters' list, inviting applications for nomination, scrutiny of nomination papers and issue of voting papers and their return and final counting. All this would take 7 to 8 months at the minimum. That is why we have asked that the life of the present Council be extended by one year and it is not our intention to keep quiet but go ahead in getting the Bill passed and a new Council reconstituted. As regards the other aspect about the question of ordinance I do not think any one present in the House will like the idea of any action by the Government with the help of an ordinance.

[11-5—11-10 a.m.]

Whenever an ordinance has been promulgated, questions have been raised in various quarters. The present Council is composed of elected as well as official elements. I feel that those who were elected only three years ago can safely be allowed to continue for another year and no harm will be done if that is allowed. I think the continuance of the Council in its present form will be more democratic than to have a nominated Council constituted by ordinances. In the case of other local bodies Government have been vested with power to

unfortunately when the Act was passed in 1916 no such provision was made in the Act and therefore we have no power to extend the life of present Council without legislation which the lower House has accepted and I hope the Council will also agree to the passage of the Bill on the same principle. I, therefore, oppose Sd. Choudhuri's amendment.

The motion of Sd. Annada Prasad Choudhuri that in clause 2, line 5 for the words and figures "14th day of January, 1955", the words and figures "31st day of March, 1954" be substituted, was then put and lost.

The question that clause 2 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

#### *Preamble.*

The question that the Preamble stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Amulyadhar Mukharji:** Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Council of Medical Registration (Extension of Term of Office of Members) Bill, 1953, as settled in the Council, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

#### **The West Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Amendment) Bill 1953.**

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1953 as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration.

Sir, under the Non-Agricultural Tenancy Act the tenant acquires certain rights under certain circumstances. In order to prevent the tenant acquiring any such right in regard to land acquired by the Government for the use of a Government department under the Land Acquisition Act, section 85 was enacted. That section provides that nothing in the Act shall apply to land acquired by the Government for the use of a Government

under various other Acts lands have been and are being acquired for the use of Government departments. For the purpose of extending the exemption to lands acquired under other Acts the present Bill has been introduced.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

#### *Clause 1.*

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

#### *Clause 2.*

**Mr. Chairman:** There are two amendments of S<sup>r</sup>. Debendranath Mukherjee. The first one I declare inadmissible because the amendment does not fit in with the main clause which is a definition clause. Mr. Mukherjee ought to have brought the amendment in a suitable form, either in a sub-clause or in any other way. The second one is in order and Mr. Mukherjee may move, or he may speak generally on clause 2 now and then move his amendment under clause 3.

[11-10—11-15 a.m.]

**S<sup>r</sup>. Debendranath Mukherjee:** Sir, the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge has just now told the House that under certain circumstances the tenant under the Non-Agricultural Tenancy Act may acquire certain rights. Circumstances have not been clarified nor what kind of rights the tenants may acquire has been specified. The Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Bill has only said "certain circumstances, certain rights." I may tell the House that the purpose for which this Bill has been brought will not be fully achieved if the language of this section remains as it is in the amendment. The purpose for which it was introduced—at least what my idea is—I may tell the House with an illustration. A tenant takes a garden of 5 bighas in Tollygunge and in one corner of this garden there is a structure covering only 10 cottas of land. According to the previous language, the entire tenancy was excluded

from the operation of the Non-Agricultural Tenancy Act and the result was that even if the tenant occupied this garden for more than 12 years both the building and the land, the tenant was prevented from acquiring any occupancy right in the vacant land on which there was no structure. The Hon'ble Minister may know that under the Rent Control Act premises have been defined and premises include the gardens on which there are outhouses or small structures. Therefore in places like Tollygunge or Barrackpore or Behala where there are many gardens the tenants were prevented from acquiring any occupancy rights and the landlords could have taken steps for the purpose of ejecting the tenants according to the Transfer of Property Act. In order that the landlord could not do it, the Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Amendment) Act was introduced.

[11-15—11-20 a.m.]

If that is the purpose, let that be made quite clear so that the tenants and the landlords may not be put to the trouble of litigation from court to court. That is why I wanted to suggest to the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Bill that if his purpose is that the tenant should be given occupancy right in the vacant land in a garden of 5 bighas where the structure stands on only 10 cottas it should be made clear by this section that the tenant would have occupancy right in the remaining 4 bighas and 10 cottas of land. The tenant enters into the premises by one indivisible contract both in respect of the vacant land as well as the structure. You say that so far as the structure is concerned it would be taken out of the operation of the Non-Agricultural Tenancy Act. But your amendment does not speak of the vacant lands. Let that be made clear in the language of the amendment. That is why I have suggested in my amendment that "lands which are not appurtenant to the premises" should be brought under the operation of the Act. Premises

[Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee.] have been defined in the Non-Agricultural Tenancy Act, and include also those lands which are appurtenant to the structure, for instance, there is a rice mill covering 10 cottahs; appurtenant to that mill is 1 bigha of land on which boiled rice is scattered for the purpose of drying up; that 1 bigha would be land appurtenant to the structure. Therefore, Sir, I have proposed in my amendment that lands which are "not appurtenant to the premises" should be in clear language brought under this Act.

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar**

**Basu:** Sir, the circumstances under which a non-agricultural tenant acquires certain rights are all set out in the Act of 1949 and I do not think it is necessary for me to go into that question at all. Sir, "non-agricultural tenant" is defined under section 2(5) of the Act. Non-agricultural tenant is obviously a tenant of the land and not of the structure. There was a certain amount of ambiguity in sub-section (5) of section 2 of the Act. In order to clear up that ambiguity and remove a flaw it has been proposed to amend the section in the manner indicated in the Bill. Sir, a non-agricultural tenant is a tenant of the land and it does not include the holder of the premises. That is what is intended to be made clear. If the land is included in the tenancy, it will obviously be governed by the Act. Therefore, Sir, in my view the amendment as proposed by the Bill is necessary and sufficient to meet the purpose.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

*Clause 3.*

**Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee:** Sir, I beg to move that in clause 3, in the proposed section 85(c), line 2, after the words "Land Acquisition Act, 1894", the words "or any other Act previous to the year 1894" be inserted.

Sir, I quite appreciate that the proposed amendment is necessary

in order that the tenants governed by the Non-Agricultural Tenancy Act may not acquire any occupancy right in the lands which have been acquired by Government and are in the occupation of Government.

[11-20—11-25 a.m.]

Sir, I may tell the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge that before the Act of 1894 there was another Act by which lands for the canals were acquired. That was some time in 1870 and canal surplus lands are not only to be found within the municipality of Calcutta but outside it such as Kristipur Khal. Such canal surplus lands were acquired before 1894 and are still under occupation of some people to whom these lands were let out by Government. Sir, they would be excluded. The Hon'ble Minister-in-charge should, therefore, take this into consideration and extend this amendment to lands acquired by the Government before 1894 such as canal surplus lands.

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar**

**Basu:** Sir, I am not aware of any Act prior to 1894 in force at the present moment. Sir, in any case sub-clause (d) of clause 2 of the Bill protects the land.

The motion of Sj. Debendra Nath Mukherjee that in clause 3 in the proposed section 85(c), line 2, after the words "Land Acquisition Act, 1894", the words "or any other Act previous to the year 1894" be inserted was put and lost.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was put and agreed to.

*Preamble.*

The question that the preamble do stand part of the Bill was put and agreed to.

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar**

**Basu:** Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as settled in the Council, be passed.

The motion was put and agreed to.

## The Bengal Board of Revenue (Amendment) Bill, 1953.

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Board of Revenue (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly be taken into consideration.

Sir, as you are aware every civil court is protected or has power to deal with cases of contempt in regard to cases pending before it. You are also aware that the High Court has inherent jurisdiction to punish for contempt and civil courts are protected under the Contempt of Courts Act. Sir, you are further aware that the Board of Revenue is the highest revenue authority and exercises appellate, and revisional jurisdiction under numerous Acts. Recently there have been cases where offensive language has been used in correspondence addressed to the Board in regard to matters pending for disposal before the Board. That is why it has become necessary to clothe the Board of Revenue with power to deal with contempt of the Board. In the circumstances, Sir, the Bill has been introduced.

[11-25—11-28 a.m.]

### Janab Abdul Halim:

‘মিস্টার চেয়ারম্যান, স্যার’! মাননীয় বসু মহাশয় যে “বিল” এনেছেন সেই “বিল”এর উদ্দেশ্য হচ্ছে সাধারণ “বোর্ড” অব “রেভিনিউ”এর হাতে ব্যাপক ক্ষমতা দেওয়া। এই “বিল পাশ” হলে সাধারণ মানুষের ক্ষতি হবে। “রেভিনিউ” সংক্রান্ত মামলা মোকদ্দমায় হামেশা জনসাধারণকে “বোর্ড”এর সম্মুখে হাজির হতে হবে। তাহলে এই “বিল”সংক্রান্ত ব্যাপারে প্রত্যেক ক্ষেত্রেই তাদের যন্ত্রণা ভোগ করতে হবে। এমন কি “জেল”এ যাবার জন্য প্রস্তুত হতে হবে। বর্তমান আদালতের যে “প্রভিশন” আছে “কন্সট্রাক্ট অব কোর্ট”এর জন্য তাই যথেষ্ট কাজের পক্ষে এবং “রেভিনিউ বোর্ড”এর হাতে এই বিশেষ ক্ষমতা দেওয়ার বিশেষ কারণ দেখি না। তা ছাড়া গভর্ণমেন্টও এই আইন প্রণয়নের বিশেষ কিছু যুক্তি দেখান নি, আর এর যে বিশেষ প্রয়োজন আছে তাও বলেন নি। তাদের যে হাইকোর্ট বা অন্যান্য কোর্ট আছে তাতে “কন্সট্রাক্ট অব কোর্ট”এর বিচার হতে পারে। কাজেই “রেভিনিউ বোর্ড”কে এই “কন্সট্রাক্ট অব কোর্ট”এর “পাওয়ার” দেওয়া অনুচিত। এ দিলে “একজিকিউটিভ”এর হাতে যথেষ্ট ক্ষমতা দেওয়া হয়। সরকারী কর্মচারীদের হাতে যথেষ্ট ক্ষমতা দেওয়ার নীতির তীর বিরোধিতা করছি।

## The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:

Sir, for the information of my friend I may say that the Board of Revenue is not a High Court. Therefore, unless it is clothed with power by an Act of the Legislature it cannot deal with any case of contempt. Nor is the Board of Revenue a court subordinate to the High Court so that cases of contempt of the Board may be dealt with as in other civil courts. Under these circumstances it is necessary for the protection of the Board which is the highest revenue tribunal that powers to punish should be vested in the Board.

The motion of the Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu that the Bengal Board of Revenue (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration, was then put and agreed to.

### Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

### Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

### Preamble.

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

## The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:

Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Board of Revenue (Amendment) Bill, 1953, as settled in the Council, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

**Mr. Chairman:** I shall now adjourn the House till Monday next, the 23rd November, at 10 a.m. The business left over today will be carried over.



**Sj. K. P. Chattopadhyay:** Can we make it 9 a.m.?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Make it 9-30 a.m.

**Adjournment.**

The Council was then adjourned at 11-28 a.m. till 9-30 a.m. on Monday, the 23rd November, 1953, at the Legislative Buildings, Calcutta.

**Members absent.**

- (1) Bagchi, Sj. Narendra Nath.
- (2) Banerjee, Sj. Sunil Kumar.
- (3) Banerji, Sj. Sankar Das.
- (4) Majumdar, Sj. Sudhirendra Nath.
- (5) Musharruf Hossain, Janab.
- (6) Roy, Sj. Surendra Kumar.
- (7) Sarkar, Sj. Pranabeswar.
- (8) Sen, Sj. Debendra.

## COUNCIL DEBATES

*Monday, the 23rd November, 1953.*

THE COUNCIL met in the Legislative Chamber of the Legislative Building, Calcutta, on Monday, the 23rd November, 1953, at 9-30 a.m. being the 4th day of the Third Session, under the Constitution of India.

Mr. Chairman (the Hon'ble Dr. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI) was in the Chair.

## QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

**Road connecting the municipalities of Kharar and Ramjibanpur with Chatal-Chandrakona Road, district Midnapore.**

**7. Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** Will the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Development (Roads) Department be pleased to state—

(a) whether Government are aware that the roads connecting the municipalities of Kharar and Ramjibanpur in Midnapore district with the Ghatal-Chandrakona Road are in a deteriorating condition; and

(b) if so, whether Government consider the desirability of taking over these roads from the Midnapore District Board or placing sufficient funds at the disposal of that District Board for maintenance of these roads in good order?

**Minister-in-charge of the Development (Roads) Department (the Hon'ble Khagendra Nath Das Gupta):** (a) Yes.

(b) No. The District Board have taken up repair works on the roads.

[9-30—9-35 a.m.]

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি যে এই রাস্তা দুটো মেরামৎ করার ভার "ডিস্ট্রিক্ট বোর্ড" "গভর্ন-মেন্ট" থেকে নিচ্ছে কিনা?

**The Hon'ble Khagendra Nath Das Gupta:**

সেটা ডিস্ট্রিক্ট বোর্ডেরই রাস্তা, বিস্তারিত উত্তর দিতে হলে আমি "নোটিশ" চাই।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি যে এই রাস্তা মেরামত করার জন্য "প্রাকওয়ারমেন্ট বোর্ড" থেকে কিছু টাকা ইতিপূর্বে খরচ করা হয়েছে।

**The Hon'ble Khagendra Nath Das Gupta:**

জানি না, "নোটিশ" চাই।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলবেন কি যে যখনই যে "কোয়েস্চন" কবি তিনি যখন তা জানেন না এখন সে "কোয়েস্চন"টা "হেড ওভার" হলে ভাল হয় না?

**The Hon'ble Khagendra Nath Das Gupta:**

আপনি যে প্রশ্ন করেছেন তাব ওপর এই "সাম্পল-কোয়ার্ড কোয়েস্চন" আসে না।

**Mr. Chairman:** Mr. Choudhuri, the Minister wants notice for supplementary questions in this connection. I think the questions you want to ask do not arise.

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:** That question relates to the District Board. That does not relate to Government.

**Mr. Chairman:** This information would be required specially from the District Board and would be supplied by the District Board.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** It would not be proper to say that the roads belong to the District Board and it is their affair. When he says that the District Board have taken up the repair, I presume he has got all information to give us reply.

**Mr. Chairman:** Unless the District Board had intimate connection with roads, they would not undertake the repair.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** I say no repair has been undertaken.

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:** The honourable member knows as much as we do that the District Board repair their roads and not the Government.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** That is another matter. But the reply that the District Board have taken up the repair indicates some knowledge of the matter on the part of the Minister who has given the reply.

**The Hon'ble Khagendra Nath Das Gupta:** The District Board have informed us that they have taken up repair of these roads.

**Janab Abdul Halim:**

মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ের কি জানা নাই যে কখন থেকে কাজ আরম্ভ হয়েছে?

**The Hon'ble Khagendra Nath Das Gupta:**

না, আমাদের জানা নাই।

**Janab Abdul Halim:**

তা হলে কে কবে ?

(No reply.)

{ 9-35—9-40 a.m. }

**MESSAGE.**

**Secretary to the Council (S). A. R. Mukherjea:** Sir, the following message has been received from the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, namely:—

*“Message,*

The West Bengal Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 16th November, 1953, has been duly signed and certified as a money Bill

by me and is transmitted herewith to the West Bengal Legislative Council under article 198, clause (2) of the Constitution of India.

S. K. MUKHERJEE.

*Speaker,*

*West Bengal Legislative  
Assembly."*

Sir, I lay on the table a copy of the Bill.

**Committee on Petitions.**

**Mr. Chairman:** In accordance with the provision of rule 86 of the West Bengal Legislative Council Procedure Rules, I nominate the following members of the Council to form a Committee on Petitions with the Deputy Chairman as Presiding Officer:—

- (1) S<sub>j</sub>. Debendranath Mukherjee,
- (2) S<sub>j</sub>. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya,
- (3) Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty,
- (4) Janab Shaikh Mohammad Jan,
- (5) S<sub>j</sub>. Rabindralal Sinha,
- (6) S<sub>j</sub>kt. Santi Das, and
- (7) S<sub>j</sub>. Sankar Das Banerji.

### Discussion on supplementary estimates.

**Mr. Chairman:** Now, the discussion on the supplementary estimates.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, in taking part in the discussion of the supplementary budget the first thing which comes to the mind is that of utter incompetency of some of the departments in the matter of assessing their financial needs which could have obviated this necessity today. I shall later on substantiate my remarks by examples, but in general, it can be said that excepting the solitary example of the State Medical Insurance Scheme there is nothing in the budget to

stimulate us in supporting it. For example, if we could save some of the money and budgeted for meeting the demands of the hard-pressed teachers or could have a scheme for the unemployed persons whose sufferings are tremendous or could have done something to provide relief to the lower income group, we could have whole-heartedly supported these items, but the supplementary budget, as in the case of the main one presented a few months ago, remains a *status quo* budget as the other. I am afraid the Finance Minister's arguments about inclusion of some of the items of expenditure of the present supplementary budget are not convincing enough. For example, a provision of Rs. 8 crores under Grant No. 46 on the plea that the various development projects have been taken up and therefore it is not possible to draw from the reserve for this purpose seems entirely unacceptable, because the development projects mentioned here are all pre-planned and therefore could have been budgeted for during the budget session. The provision of this huge sum shows little competence of the department responsible, because such a big increase could not have been totally unforeseen. But that is not the only instance, Sir, of such colossal oversight and under Grant No. 26 a sum of Rs. 7,23,000 has been asked for on the ground that the additional grant is required partly to meet certain outstanding liabilities on account of supply of equipment and stores for the scheme and partly to cover the increase in the cost of the scheme due to rise in the price of materials. It is difficult to understand how suddenly existence of certain liability which was outstanding could be realised if that had escaped the scrutiny of the department before.

[9-40—9-45 a.m.]

How again after a lapse of few months the price of materials could be increased? The whole trouble is that the arguments advanced in support of the demands are so delightfully vague that nobody is

able to make anything out of it and that the Government have totally failed to assess the needs associated with it is proved by the Grant No. 32 under "Famine". If the Hon'ble Pratulla Chandra Sen, the Food Minister, relied a little more on his own commonsense than on his concocted statistics he could have surely provided for more under this head in the original Budget. Some time ago he had suggested that statistics are used to delude people. In this particular case it seems to me that he has successfully deluded himself. Sir, he was ever too optimistic as regards the food position which was not warranted by facts and he does not show any change even now. The need for relief has been under-estimated. Then what has been done in the name of relief is still more deplorable. For example, as you know Sir, Howrah is a deficit district but even in Howrah there are certain areas which are hard hit by scarcity and there are certain areas which are comparatively better. Instead of providing relief to the people which need it most money was arbitrarily spent on one hundred places all over the district without any distinction and without giving priority to certain areas which need it most.

Sir, there is one item in the present supplementary budget which can be considered to be a redeeming feature, namely, the implementation of the Employees State Insurance Scheme under Grant No. 30. It falls far short of its requirements. The inauguration of the scheme will lay the foundation stone of the welfare State but side by side there should have been the insurance scheme for the unemployed. Sir, the provision of Rs. 2,95,000 for the survey of unemployed seems too much when most of the figures could be collated from other sources. Even in collecting this information for which this sum has been allotted fictitious figures have been given to minimise the real proportion of unemployment. I will cite one instance immediately and also be

[Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty.]

ready to produce evidence if called for. For example, in the village Mahinagar Malancha, post office Dakshin Gobindapur, district 24-Parganas, the enumerators only went to households where there were minor children or where there was none to be employed and they avoided those households where the majority of the unemployed persons dwell. I think in that particular village there were about 100 households and at least there were 50 unemployed persons in that whole village but from the sample survey the figure which is given is only 6. Now we can understand the utter inadequacy and utter uselessness of these figures. The exact position of unemployed cannot be discerned from this survey. The reason is not far to seek when we know that the Finance Minister, Dr. Roy, only sought inspiration from the poets, novelists, dramatists, literateurs, etc., instead of economists, industrialists, commercial experts, scientists and technologists.

[9.45—9.50 a.m.]

Sir, I do grudge my friend S. J. Tara Sankar Banerjee—I do not know whether he is present here today—to have the honour of being consulted in this matter, but I should have thought that Dr. Roy should have relied more on friends like S. J. Gurugobinda Basu and S. J. Pannalal Saraogi instead of on S. J. Tara Sankar Banerjee. Therefore, Sir, with regard to this particular item under Grant No. 30 I must record my protest.

Then with regard to the administration of the Trades Dispute Act there is inordinate delay in the settlement of trades disputes. Hundreds of cases may be cited but I will confine myself to only one case—the case of Indian Machinery Factory, Das Nagar, Howrah. The case was sent long ago but the matter is still pending. The difficulties and the sense of frustration

among the workers at this dilly-dallying tactics cannot be overestimated. This must be stopped.

With regard to Grant No. 22 under the head "Agriculture" there is the scheme for the distribution of manure and cost of chemical fertilisers. I am told that the only firm of Messrs. Taluqdar & Co., has been selected to supply the manure and the manure the firm has been supplying is nothing but pure Ganges mud and not the chemical fertilisers which should have been given. As regards the loan in respect of chemical fertilisers this loan is given to persons who have got lands only and not to *bhagchasis* who do most of the cultivation in West Bengal. Naturally, however, the *bhagchasis* should have got this help instead of only the *jotedars*.

With regard to the grant under "Medical" I have particular reference to make about the administration of various hospitals. I have in the past referred to the Kancharapara Tuberculosis Hospital and I am glad to find that some of the items I had mentioned have been attended to. But I have a serious charge to make about the administration of the Nilratan Sircar Medical College and the Calcutta Medical College Hospitals. Here is a case, Sir, that I want to mention. There was a case of suspected typhus and the patient was admitted into the Nilratan Sircar Medical College Hospital on 22nd June, 1953 and died at 3.45 on 27th June, 1953, without proper treatment although the physician who was attending her before she was admitted into the hospital gave reasons for suspected typhus. But no medical aid was given for typhus and in spite of repeated requests no action was taken, no proper diagnosis was made and the patient died after five days without proper treatment in the hospital. This sort of things is also happening in the R. G. Kar Medical College Hospitals also. I hope the Minister in charge of the Medical and Public Health will try to put a stop to such a state of

affairs. In my introductory speech, Sir, I have said that the present Supplementary Budget has nothing in it for which we should feel inspired. It would have been better for the Finance and the Chief Minister to have allotted some money for Education and for some other heads which require prompt and proper attention. In this connection I want to refer to the case of municipal school teachers of Howrah and of some other municipalities. Some time ago I waited on deputation on the Education Minister. The case is that primary teachers of municipal primary schools in West Bengal are not getting special dearness allowance allotted to them for the simple reason that the municipalities are already helped for granting such dearness allowance. Sir, the total financial liability will not be more than Rs. 14,000 and the total number of teachers affected not more than two hundred. I would therefore request the Education Minister and the Chief Minister as well to favourably consider the case even at this stage so that in the next budget they could provide the sum required to give relief to these school teachers.

With these words, Sir, I conclude.

[9.50—9.55 a.m.]

**Janab Abdul Halim:** Mr. Chairman, Sir,

মাননীয় মুখ্যমন্ত্রী অতিরিক্ত বাজেট ববাস্বেদব জন্য যে দাবি পেশ করেছেন ১৩ কোটি ১৬ লক্ষ ৫৬ হাজার টাকা, এবং “ডিপ্লি-বিউসনে” যা দাখিল করেছেন তাব বিভিন্ন খাতের আলোচনা পূর্বে আমি সাধারণভাবে কিছু আলোচনা করতে চাই। গত “বাজেট সেসনে” আমরা বলেছিলাম যে দেশে দুর্ভিক্ষের অবস্থা আছে, দেশে খাদ্য ফসল যথেষ্ট উৎপন্ন হয় নাই, বেকারের সংখ্যা বেড়ে যাচ্ছে এবং লোকের ক্রয়ক্ষমতা কমে গিয়েছে, অতএব তাদের জন্য বেশী টাকা বরাদ্দ করা হোক, তখন মাননীয় খাদ্য মন্ত্রী এখানে বলেছিলেন—না, দেশে খাদ্য সংকট নাই, প্রচুর শস্য আছে। কিন্তু কিছুদিন বাদেই আমরা দেখলাম,—২৪-পরগণা বন্দর, মৌদীনীপুর ও বর্ধমানে এবং বিভিন্ন স্থানে খাদ্যসংকট ব্যাপক আকার ধারণ করেছে, তখন তারা স্বীকার করলেন—“হ্যাঁ, খাদ্যসংকট হয়েছে”। খাদ্যের দাবীর উপর গভর্ণমেন্ট গত ৪৫ মাস যে নীতি অবলম্বন করেছেন তা অত্যন্ত

শোচনীয়। দেশের দুঃস্থ জনতা যখন খাদ্যের দাবী নিয়ে, রিলাফের দাবী নিয়ে এবং খরমাত সাহায্যের দাবী নিয়ে তাদের কাছে উপস্থিত হল সেখানে আবার আমাদের সরকার করলেন কি না—গালি কবে, লাঠি মেরে, “টিয়ার গ্যাস” সেই সব বতুকে জনতার উপর ছেড়ে দিয়ে সমস্যার সমাধান করতে লাগলেন। কিন্তু যদি তাবা ঐ বারদ বাজেটে প্রকৃত বায় বরাদ্দ রাখতেন তাহলে ঐভাবে গালি কবে, লাঠি মেরে, অত্যাচার কবে, খাদ্য সমস্যার সমাধানে তাদের অগ্রসর হতে হত না। এবং ঐভাবে খাদ্য সমস্যার সমাধান করতে যাওয়ায় গভর্ণমেন্টের বাজেটের ব্যাপারে অদূরদর্শিতাই প্রমাণিত হয়েছে। খাদ্যের দাবী থাবা জানাতে এসেছিল তাদের জেলে আটক রাখা পর্যন্ত হয়েছিল, এমন কি তখন নেতাদের পাঁচজনকে এখনো বিনা বিচারে আটক রাখা হয়েছে—বিশ্বনাথ মুখার্জী, ইন্দিজিৎ গুপ্ত, হরিপদ চাট্টাৰ্জী, বমেন্দ্র বানার্জী ও মহম্মদ ইলিয়াসকে এখনো পর্যন্ত জেলে আটক রাখা হয়েছে—এই হচ্ছে আমাদের গভর্ণমেন্টের খাদ্যনীতি এবং দেশের সমস্যা সমাধানের নীতি। আমি গভর্ণমেন্টকে অনুবোধ করছি—খাদ্যসমস্যার যদি তারা সত্য করে সমাধান করতে চান, তা হলে তাঁরা বাজেটে যেন ঠিকভাবে যথেষ্ট বরাদ্দ এই বরাদ্দ রাখেন। গত বাজেটে আমরা বলেছিলাম—দুর্ভিক্ষ নিবারণের জন্য যথেষ্ট ব্যবস্থা বাজেটে রাখা সরকার, কিন্তু তাঁরা তা গ্রহণ করেন নাই। আজকে আমরা আবার দেখছি—অতিরিক্ত একটা বাজেট তাঁরা নিয়ে এসেছেন। প্রত্যেক বছরেই এই রকম একটা অতিরিক্ত বাজেট বরাদ্দ আনা—যেন আমাদের সরকারের একটা পেশা হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছে। আমরা বুঝতে পারি না তাদের এই অদূরদর্শিতা কেন? আমি বাজেটের বিভিন্ন খাতের আলোচনা পূর্বে মাননীয় চেয়ারম্যানকে বলতে চাই—যদি খাদ্যসমস্যার সমাধান করতে হয় তা হলে জনসাধারণের দুঃস্থ নিবারণের জন্য এবং তাদের অবস্থার উন্নতির জন্য সরকার যেন বাজেটে যথেষ্ট ব্যবস্থা রাখেন। তাঁরা যে নীতি অবলম্বন করে থাকেন—গালি মারা ও লাঠি চালিয়ে হত্যা করা, তা দ্বারা সমস্যার সমাধান হবে না—এবং এ নীতি কেউ সমর্থন করবে না।

তাবপরে আমি বলতে চাই কলকাতা সহবের জনসাধারণ কাকর মিশ্রিত চাল খেয়ে কি বকম অসুবিধায় আছে তা খাদ্য মন্ত্রী মহাশয় কি জানেন? চালে কি পরিমাণ কাকর থাকে সেই কাকরের নমুনা তাঁর কাছে কিছ্ পাঠানো হয়েছিল। কাকর কোথা থেকে আসে? ধান গাছে কাকর হয় না, যারা চাল “সাপ্লাই” করে তাঁরাই কাকর মেসায়, এবং আমরা সেই কাকর মিশ্রিত চাল খেয়ে বেশ আরামে আছি। প্রধান মন্ত্রী ডাঃ রায় বলেছেন কাকর ভালো। ডাক্তারী হিসাবে ভালো তাই হবে পারে। ডাক্তার যা “প্রেসক্রাইব” করেন, তাই গলাধঃকরণ করতে হবে, উপায় নাই। লোয়ার হাউসে যখন নানা বিষয়ের প্রশ্নের তাঁরা জবাব দেন, এবং সংবাদপত্রে তার যে বিবরণ বেরোয় তাতে কোন মানুষই সন্তুষ্ট হতে পারে না। জনসাধারণ তাঁদের অভিশাপ দেবে এবং তারা এসব সহ্য করবে না।

এখন আমি বিভিন্ন খাতের বায়বরাদ্দ সম্পর্কে বলতে চাই। দুর্ভিক্ষখাতে গভর্ণমেন্ট ১ কোটি ৬০ লক্ষ টাকা চেয়েছেন। আমরা আগেই বলেছিলাম যে দুর্ভিক্ষের সমাধান আছে, এবং সেজন্য

[Janab Abdul Halim.]

এখনই অর্থ ব্যবস্থা করা দরকার। গভর্ণমেন্ট খাদ্যসংকটের কথা এখন স্বীকার করতে বাধ্য হয়েছেন; তখন বলাইলেন দেশে খাদ্যসংকট নাই, সুতরাং খাদ্যসমস্যাও নাই, তবে লোকের ভ্রমক্ষমতা কম গেছে। কিন্তু সুন্দরবনের বোয়ালমারি, কানমারি, কালীনগর, চিমটিয়া প্রভৃতি অঞ্চলে ব্যাপকভাবে লোক না খেয়ে মরছে। সেখানে ঘরে ঘরে ছোট ছেলেমেয়েসহ তারা না খেতে পেয়ে ধুকে ধুকে মরছে। সেখানে একরকম ঘাস আছে চেংকা, বাবলা প্রভৃতি সেই জাতীয় জিনিস খেয়ে তারা দিন কাটাচ্ছে। মাননীয় চেয়ারম্যান আপনার অবগতির জন্য বলাছি—গভর্ণমেন্ট সেখানে চরম ঔদাসীন্য দেখিয়েছেন এবং সেখানকার দুর্ভিক্ষ দমনের ব্যবস্থা করেন নাই। তারপর যখন সেখানে আত্মহত্যার সংবাদ বেরুলো, ক্ষুধার তড়ুয়ায় অস্থির হয়ে লোকেরা “এস,ডি,ও”র কোর্ট ও বাংলা ঘেরাও করতে আরম্ভ করলো এবং চেঁচাতে লাগলো, আমরা খাবার পাচ্ছি না, তখন তাঁদের চিন্তা হ'ল। তখন তারা যে ব্যবস্থা করলেন তা একেবারেই অপরিণত। কেন না বেশীর ভাগ রিলিফ দুঃস্থদের কাছে পৌঁছল না। গ্রামে, কংগ্রেস কমিটির যারা সভা তাদের মারফৎ, গ্রামে যে সব দালাল আছে তাদের মারফৎ দেবার দরুন রিলিফ সেখানে পৌঁছল না এবং তা স্বচক্ষে আমি দেখেছি। এই “রিলিফের” বদলে “কাশ ডোল” বারো আনা, চৌদ্দ আনা এক মাস অন্তর দেয়া হয়, এক মাসে ৬ আনায় একজন লোকের স্বাস্থ্যের অবস্থা কি হ'তে পারে সহজেই ধারণা করতে পারেন। লোকের যে কি দুরবস্থা সেখানে হয়েছে তা আমি স্বচক্ষে দেখে এসেছি। সেখানে গ্রামের কৃষক যারা বলেছে আমরা কাজ চাই, আমাদের জন্য কাজের ব্যবস্থা করুন। বসন্তহাট ও কালিনগর রোডে কিছু কাজ হ'চ্ছিল, সেখানে বাবো আনা থেকে এক টাকা মজুরি দেয়া হ'য়েছে। সেই সব স্থানের দুঃস্থ অধবাসীরা দুঃস্বপ্নে বাঁচবার জন্য খয়রাতি রিলিফ চায় নাই, চেয়েছিল কাজ, আমরা জানি কাজের ভাল ব্যবস্থা হয় নাই। আমি ১ই জুন সেখানে গিয়াছিলাম, ৬ই জুন তিমজুন্দীন মোজা আত্মহত্যা করেছে। সুন্দরবনের এই অবস্থায় রিলিফের খাতে, দুর্ভিক্ষের খাতে আরো টাকা বরাদ্দ করা উচিত, কিন্তু বাজেটে তা করা হয় নাই।

[9-55—10 a.m.]

তারপর পার্বক হেলথ সম্পর্কে দেখছি, ২৫-পরগণায় টিউব-ওয়েলের জন্য ২০ লক্ষ টাকার ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে। এই বাজেটে যা আছে তাতে ২০ লক্ষ টাকার ৫০০ টিউব-ওয়েলের নাকি ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে। সম্ভবশাসিত লোনা জল, বহু দূরে দূরে গ্রাম। আকরাতাল ৩নং ইউনিয়ন, সেখানে একটা নলকূপ আছে, এ একটা নলকূপে জল নেবার জন্য ৭৮ মাইল দূরে থেকে লোক জল নিতে আসে; জল নেবার জন্য ২৫০১০০০ লোক “কিউ” করে দাঁড়িয়ে থাকে। আমি জানি না এ ৫০০ নলকূপ কোথায় বসানো হয়েছে। অনেক গ্রামে জমিদার বাড়িতে, কাছারীর কাছে নলকূপ বসানো হয়, কিন্তু অনেক স্থলেই দেখা যায় যাদের আবশ্যিক বেশী সেই সব দরিদ্রদের গ্রামে নলকূপ বসানো হয় না। বহু দূর থেকে

থেকে এসে লোকের জল নেবার যে কত অসুবিধা বিশেষ করে নেজাউ ও কানমারী, এই সমস্ত জায়গায়। তারপরে “টিউব-ওয়েল” করার ব্যাপারে দুর্নীতিও রয়েছে। যে টাকা বরাদ্দ আছে সে টাকায় আরো বেশী “টিউব-ওয়েল” হতে পারত। কিন্তু তারা সেটাকে একটা মুনাকার ব্যাপারে পরিণত করেছে। তবুও “পার্বক হেলথের” জন্য গভর্ণমেন্ট যে টাকা খরচ করেছেন, তার চেয়ে যদি আরো বেশী খরচ করেন আমরা সে বিষয়ে আপত্তি করব না।

তারপরে “গ্রান্ট” নং ২২, “এগ্রিকালচারের” ব্যাপারে ২ কোটি ২১ লক্ষ ৪৫ হাজার টাকা খরচ হয়েছে। কিন্তু কৃষি-ঋণের যে ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে তাতে আমি বলতে বাধ্য হচ্ছি সে অত্যন্ত অযোগ্য, এমন কি কাটোয়ার সরকারী কৃষক “এস,ডি,ও” যে টাকা “ডিম্মাড” করেছিলেন, তাও মঞ্জুর করা হয় নাই। এইত গেল কৃষি-ঋণের অপব্যবস্থা। তাবপরে চাষীদের গোরু, কেনার জন্য যে ঋণ দেয়া হয় ৩৫ টাকা হিসেবে, অথচ আজকাল এক জোড়া গোরু কিনতে প্রায় ৩০০ টাকা লাগে, এই হচ্ছে আমাদের সরকারী কৃষি-বিভাগের “কাউল লোন”এর ব্যবস্থা। আলু, একটা লাভজনক কৃষি, কৃষকেরা আলু চাষ করবে, কিন্তু তাদের জন্য আলুর বীজ সমযমত পঠানো হয় না। যদি বা বীজ হয়, সার সববরাহ হয় না, কৃষি ব্যাপারে এই অপব্যবস্থাগুলি আমি লক্ষ্য করেছি।

“গ্রান্ট ৩০—মিসলেনিয়াস—স্টেট ইন্সপেক্টরস”—এর ব্যাপারে নলকূপ পণ্ডাশ হাজার টাকা চেয়েছেন। আমরা আগের বাজেটে বলাছিলাম, শ্রমিক-বীমা চালু করবার জন্য সংগে সংগে আরো বলাছিলাম বেকারবীতা ও “ওন্ড এন্ড খেনসন”এর ব্যবস্থা করা হোক। কিন্তু তখন সে কথা শোনা হয় নাই, সরকার অনেক গড়ান্স করেছেন, শেষটায় বর্তমানে একটা ব্যবস্থা করলেন। জেলাই মাসে “স্ক্রীম” হবার কথা ছিল, সেটা ডিসেম্বর মাসে হবে, নানা ওজর আপত্তি সত্ত্বেও শ্রমিক-বীমা চালু করাটা আমরা “ওয়েলকাম” করছি; কিন্তু সংগে সংগে বলে রাখছি “ট্রেড যুনিয়নের কো-অপারেশন” ছাড়া এসব কার্যকরী হবে না। কারণ সরকারের যে আমলাতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা তাৎসার্য এটা কার্যকরী কোন কালেই হবার নয়। সেই জন্য বালি, “ট্রেড যুনিয়ন” দমন করে শ্রমিক-বীমা চালু করা অসম্ভব। কাজেই গভর্ণমেন্টকে অনুমতি করব শ্রমিক আন্দোলন দমন না করতে, এবং শ্রমিক আন্দোলন দমন করে শ্রমিকদের উন্নতি কিছুতেই করা যেতে পারে না। এ-বিষয়ে গভর্ণমেন্টকে আমি পরামর্শ দেব, শ্রমিকদের যে সমস্ত “ট্রেড যুনিয়ন” আছে তাদের সংগে সহযোগিতার দ্বারা সেগুলিকে চালু করতে হবে। সরকার আর একটা ব্যয় ধরেছেন “ফর সার্ভে অফ আন-এমপ্লয়মেন্ট”, এটা অবশ্য জানা ব্যাপার। দেশের লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক যে বেকার, তারা যে খেতে পাচ্ছে না, এটা গত সেসনে “এসেমার্স” সামনে তারা যখন শতে শতে, হাজার হাজারে এসেছিল দেখা করবার জন্য, তার জন্য আবার হিসাব করতে হবে? আমি দেখিয়ে দিতে পারি একটা এর সম্পর্কে হিসাব—এই কলিকাতার “মিউনিসিপ্যাল এন্টারপ্রাইজ” ১৭ লক্ষ ১৭ হাজার ২০০ লোকের বাস। তার

মধ্যে “এম্‌প্লয়েড” হচ্ছে ৮ লক্ষ ৫৫ হাজার ১০০, আর ২ লক্ষ ৫৭ হাজার ৩০০ হচ্ছে “আন্-এম্‌প্লয়েড” অর্থাৎ বেকার। আর ৬ লক্ষ ৬৪ হাজার হচ্ছে “ডিপেন্ডেন্ট অন আদার্স” মানে অপরের উপার্জনের উপর যারা বসে খায়, তাছাড়াও কিছু “এক্সট্রা” আছে। এত সব জানা কথাই, এর জন্য আবার বেকার সংখ্যা নির্ণয়ের জন্য এতগুলি টাকা খরচ না করে বেকারদের জন্য ভাতার ব্যবস্থা করতে পারতেন অথবা তাদের জন্য একটা কিছু, “স্কীম” গ্রহণ করতে পারতেন, দেশে বেকারের অভাব নাই, এ-কথা জানা সত্ত্বেও এতগুলি টাকা গড়গমেট বাজে ব্যয় করেছেন। শিল্পে লোকের মধ্যে আজ কত বেকার রয়েছে তাব একটা দৃষ্টান্ত এখানে দিচ্ছি। “স্টেট ইন্সটিটিউশনস”-এর জন্য ১৫০ জন ডাক্তার চাওয়া হয়েছে তার জন্য ১,২০০ “এ্যাংলিক্যান্ট” দরখাস্ত করেছে। এ অবস্থায় বেকারের সংখ্যা নির্ণয়ের জন্য আবার কমিশন বসাতে হয়। ১,২৮,০০০ বাঙালী বেকারের মধ্যে ম্যাট্রিকুলেট ও গুদাম্‌বান্ বেকারের সংখ্যা হচ্ছে ৬০,৫০০। এই হচ্ছে বস্ত্তমানে বেকারের অবস্থা। এখন কথা হচ্ছে, গড়গমেট যদি কিছু, কবতে চান বেকারের জন্য বীমা বাবদ তাপা খরচ করতে পারেন। এদিকে আমি মাননীয় মুখ্যমন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করছি; যদি এই সরকার বেকার সমস্যার সমাধান করে দেশকে উন্নতির পথে, বস্ত্তমান অবস্থা “ইম্প্রুভ” করার দিকে নিতে চান, তাহলে দূরদৃষ্ট-সম্পন্ন হয়ে কাজ কবতে হবে। এই পর্যন্ত বলছি আমি আজ শেষ করলাম।

[10—10-5 a.m.]

### Sj. Tarakdas Bandopadhyaya:

সভাপতিমহাশয়! আমি আমাদের নদীয়া জেলার রিলিফ সম্বন্ধে ১২টি কথা বলতে চাই।

প্রথমতঃ আমাদের জেলায় বিভাগ হওয়ার আগে লোকসংখ্যা ছিল ৮ লক্ষ, এখন নদীয়ায় ৭ লক্ষ “রিলিউজী” হয়েছে। তাহলে আজ সেখানে প্রায় ১৫ লক্ষ লোকের বসতি। এরূপ অধিবাসীর সংখ্যা বিবর্ণিত হওয়া সত্ত্বেও আমি জোর কোরে বলতে পারি যেখানেই “ডিসট্রেস” দেখা দিয়েছে সেখানেই কালাবিলম্ব না কোরে ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে। যারা সূত্র এবং কার্যক্রম তাদের বেশীর ভাগই “টেস্ট রিলিফে” কাজ কোরে নিজেদের সংসার চালিয়েছে। আমি যতদূর সংবাদ জানি আমাদের সমস্ত জেলায় একটা লোকেরও অনাহারে মৃত্যু ঘটেনি। সেখানে “টেস্ট রিলিফ ওয়ার্ক” এর জন্য ৯ লক্ষ টাকা খরচ হয়েছে বোলে আমি জানি। তাছাড়া যারা কার্যক্রম নয় তাদের “ড্রাই ভোল” দেবার ব্যবস্থা সরকার থেকে করা হয়েছে। বিরোধীপক্ষ বললেন যে কংগ্রেসের মারফৎ এটা দেওয়া হয়েছে, কিন্তু তা ঠিক নয়। সেখানে যার যার “কন্সলিটিউশন” সেই “এম.এল.সি, এম.এল.এ”, ইউনিয়ন বোর্ডের প্রেসিডেন্ট, এবং সেই সেই অঞ্চলের এক একজন প্রতিনিধি নিয়ে তাঁরই কমিটি মারফৎ একটা “লিফট” করা হয়। তারপর সেই “লিফট” “মার্জিনালিটের” কাছে পঠান হয়েছে, এবং “মার্জিনালিট” মঞ্জুর কোরে দিয়েছেন। এর সঙ্গে

কংগ্রেসের সঙ্গে কোন সম্বন্ধ নেই। ঐভাবে “লিফট” তৈরী কোরে যারা বাস্তবিক দুঃস্থ তাদের জন্য “ড্রাই ভোল” এর ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে।

তাছাড়া “ক্যাটল পারচেজ লোন”, “এগ্রিকালচারাল লোন” আমাদের জেলায় অন্যবারের তুলনায় লক্ষ লক্ষ টাকা বেশী ব্যয় করা হয়েছে। সেদিক দিয়েও সরকার যেভাবে ঋণ দেওয়ার কাজ কোরেছেন তা খুবই প্রশংসনীয়।

[10-5—10-10 a.m.]

### Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:

মাননীয় সভাপতিমহাশয়! আমাদের সামনে আজকে যে ১০ কোটি ৯১ লক্ষ টাকার “স্যালিমেন্টারী বাজেট” উপস্থিত করা হয়েছে সেই অঙ্ক দেখে বিস্মিত হওয়ার বা ভয় পাওয়ার কিছু নেই। “স্যালিমেন্টারী বাজেট” আসবেই। হিসাবে আছে অনেক টাকা, তার মধ্যে “এগ্রিকালচার” ২ কোটি ২১ লক্ষ টাকা। কিন্তু আমি মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়কে অনুরোধ করব যে এই “এগ্রিকালচার” বা কৃষির খাতে যে ২ কোটি ২১ লক্ষ টাকা খরচ হবে তার মধ্যে “কন্সট্রাক্শন” ১ কোটি ৯৮ লক্ষ টাকা। এই “কন্সট্রাক্শন” বলতে বাংলা হিসাবে বুঝি বিবিধ খরচ। সেই বিবিধ খরচ ১ কোটি ৯৮ লক্ষ টাকা, কিন্তু “কন্সট্রাক্শন” অফ কেমিক্যাল ফার্টিলাইজার” দেওয়া হয়নি। তাতে “পে অফ এন্টারপ্রিসেস” ধরা হয়েছে। অর্থাৎ এই ২ কোটি ২১ লক্ষ টাকা যা চাওয়া হচ্ছে তাব মধ্যে ১ কোটি ৯৮ লক্ষ টাকা বিবিধ খরচ হবে, কিন্তু “কেমিক্যাল ফার্টিলাইজার” যা বিতরণ করা হবে তার পরিমাণ বা দাম দেওয়া নাই। নীচে যে বিবরণ দেওয়া আছে তাতে বলছেন—

“Scheme for distribution of manure” তাতে লেখা আছে - “cost of chemical fertilisers....”. The additional provision is required to meet the cost of a new scheme for large-scale supply of chemical fertilisers and manure mixture to cultivators mainly for paddy cultivation. The entire cost of the scheme which will be initially financed out of the loan sanctioned by the Government of India for the purpose will be ultimately recovered from the sale-proceeds of the fertilisers.”

হয়ত উত্তরের সময় প্রধানমন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলতে পারেন যে এই “ফার্টিলাইজার” যে টাকা দিয়ে কেনা হবে সে টাকা আদায় হবে। ব্যাংক থেকে ৮ কোটি টাকা ধার করা হবে, সে টাকা শোধ দেওয়াও হবে; সেই ৮ কোটি টাকার “স্যাংসান” যদি নেওয়া হয় তাহলে “ফার্টিলাইজার” কত টাকার কেনা হবে, অন্ততঃ তার অঙ্কটা আমরা জানতে পারব এ আশা করি। তারপর এই যে এত টাকা খরচ হবে সেটা যাতে ঠিকভাবে হয় সে বিষয়ে অনুরোধ জানিয়ে আমি সাধারণভাবে প্রধানমন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের একটি উত্তর প্রতি দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ কোরে আমার বক্তব্য বলতে চাই।



[Sj. Annada Prasad Choudhuri.]

গভর্ণমেন্টের যে প্রচার পুস্তিকা “কথাবাস্তা” “পারিশা” করা হয় তার ওটা নবেম্বরের সংখ্যায় মুখ্যমন্ত্রী ডাঃ বিধান চন্দ্র রায় কলিকাতায় এক সাংবাদিক বৈঠকে পশ্চিমবঙ্গ রাজসরকারের কর্মনীতি ঘোষণা সম্পর্কে এবং সমাজ-উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনা, খাদ্য-সমস্যা ইত্যাদি সম্বন্ধে এক বিস্তৃত বিবৃতি দেন। তাতে তিনি বলেন যে এই এই ক্ষেত্রে সরকার উদ্যোগী হয়ে এই সব শিল্প স্থাপন করবেন, আর স্থানীয় লোকদের বলা হয় সরকারী ঋণপত্র কিনে এ-বিষয়ে সাহায্য করতে। ঋণের টাকা শোধ দেওয়া হবে শিল্প প্রতিষ্ঠানের লভ্যাংশ থেকে। দেশের শিল্প উন্নয়ন দ্রুত থেকে দ্রুততর হয় সরকারের সেই ইচ্ছা। কিন্তু সব কিছুর নির্ভর করছে আমাদের আর্থিক অবস্থার উপর এবং সর্বোপরি জনগণের সহযোগিতার উপর।

[10-10—10-15 a.m.]

উপরিউক্ত বিষয়ে আমি প্রধানমন্ত্রীর সঙ্গে একটুও বিমত নই যে সর্বোপরি জনগণের সহযোগিতা দরকার। তবে সরকারের এত টাকা নাই, সেক্ষেত্র ঋণ কোরে বা দান গ্রহণ কোরে, বা “ডল্যান্টারি ট্যাক্স” কোরে লোকের কাছ থেকে অর্থ সংগ্রহ করবেন এবং করতেও পারেন। কিন্তু স্যার! আমি আপনার কাছে নিবেদন করছি যে জনগণের সহযোগিতা লাভ করার উপর তিনি যে সর্বোপরি নির্ভর করতে চান সেই সহযোগিতার পথে কি রকম যে পাহাড় প্রমাণ বাধা উপস্থিত হয়েছে সে বিষয়ে তাঁর দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করবার জন্য একটি বিষয়ের উল্লেখ করি। বহু কোটি টাকা আমাদের সমাজ-উন্নয়নের কাজে খরচ হচ্ছে। সেই সমাজ-উন্নয়ন কাজের বিষয়ে অনেক কিছু বলা যেতে পারে। আমি কিছু কিছু বলব।

মৈদীনীপুরের ঝাড়গ্রাম সমাজ-উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনার একটি অঙ্গল। সেখানে যে শিক্ষাকেন্দ্র প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছে সেই শিক্ষাকেন্দ্র বস্তুমানে ৩০ জন গ্রাম-কর্মী কৃষির সম্প্রসারণ সম্পর্কে শিক্ষা গ্রহণ করছে। সরকারী প্রচারপত্র “কথাবাস্তা”র ৬ই জুন তারিখে যে সংখ্যা প্রকাশিত হয়েছে তাতে বলা হচ্ছে “এই ব্যাপারে শিক্ষার্থীদের ৩টা দলে ভাগ করা হয়, কৃষির জন্য একটি দল, জনস্বাস্থ্যের জন্য একটি এবং তৃতীয় দলটি পশু চিকিৎসার জন্য। এই দল তিনটি হাতেকলমে শিক্ষা দেয়—রোজ সকালবেলা ১০টা পর্যন্ত ইত্যাদি। এই দল গ্রামে গ্রামে গিয়া লোকদের শিক্ষা দেয় এবং বিভিন্ন তথ্য সংগ্রহ কোরে থাকে এই জনগণের মধ্যে শিক্ষিত ও আশিক্ষিত ইত্যাদির হার সম্বন্ধে। এতে দুটো ছবি দেওয়া হয়েছে; একটি ছবিতে আছে ছোট্ট ছোট্ট ছেলেরা বেতের নানারকম জিনিস তৈরী করছে। একটা ছবিতে আছে ঝাড়গ্রামে সমাজ-উন্নয়ন কাজে ছোট্ট মেয়েরা কাপেট তৈরী করছে। কিন্তু স্যার! এখানে বেতের কাজ শিক্ষা দেবার যে ছবিটা আছে, ঝাড়গ্রামের রাজবাহাদুর এখানে আছেন এবং তাঁরই অর্থানুকূল্যে হিন্দুমিশন পরিচালিত হয়। এই হিন্দুমিশনের এক অর্থ শিক্ষক বেতের কাজ শেখাচ্ছেন, এবং হিন্দুমিশনের টাকাতেই সেই শিক্ষা দেওয়া হচ্ছে।

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:**

তাতে দৃষ্টি কি হয়েছে।

**Sj. Annada Prasad Choudhuri:**

আমি বলছি হিন্দুমিশনে যে শিক্ষা দেওয়া হা সে তাদের টাকা দিয়েই হয়; কিন্তু সেটা সমাজ উন্নয়নের শিক্ষা বলে প্রচার করা হয়।

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:**

এখন আগের চেয়ে ভাল কোরে শিক্ষা দেওয়া হচ্ছে।

**Sj. Annada Prasad Choudhuri:**

সমাজ-উন্নয়ন বিভাগ কোনরূপ আর্থিক সাহায্য হিন্দুমিশনকে আজ পর্যন্ত করেনি। তার গভর্ণমেন্টের আগে থেকেই শিক্ষা দিচ্ছে। তারপর ছবিতে বেতের কাজ করা ছোট ছেলেমেয়েগুটি হিন্দুমিশনের অনাথ বালক-বালিকা। আর ছবিতে কাপেট বুনছে যে মেয়েটি সে পুষ্কর্ত “প্রোজেক্ট একজিকিউটিভ অফিসার” মিস জ্যোতিষ্ময়ী সরকারের ভগিনী। মিস সরকারে ঝাড়গ্রামে থাকাকালে ঐ মেয়েটি হিন্দুমিশনে কাপেট বোনা শিখতে যেত। হিন্দুমিশনে একটি মহিলা কর্মী কাপেট বোনা জানেন। মিস সরকারের “ট্রান্সফারের” সঙ্গে সঙ্গে ঐ কাপেট বোনা মেয়েটি তার দ্বিদির সঙ্গে চলে গিয়েছে। সাব! এই বেতের কাজ আর এই কাপেট বোনা কাজের ছবি দিয়ে যদি বলেন যে ৩০ জন কর্মীকে শিক্ষা দেওয়া হচ্ছে এবং পল্লী-উন্নয়নে কাজে সেই কর্মীদের শিক্ষা হচ্ছে তাতে প্রফুল্লবাবু উৎফুল্ল হ'তে পারেন, মাননীয় “ডেভেলপমেন্ট” মন্ত্রী এবং অর্থ-মন্ত্রী উৎফুল্ল হ'তে পারেন কিন্তু তাঁরা জনসাধারণের যে সহযোগিতা কামনা করেন সেই সহযোগিতা যে পাওয়া যাবে না তা এই ঝাড়গ্রামের সাপ্তাহিক পত্রিকা থেকেই বোঝা যায়। ২৭শে জুলাইএর “নিভীক” বোলে সাপ্তাহিক পত্রিকা পাঠ করলে বোঝা যায় যে গ্রামের বিভিন্ন সমস্যা—কৃষি, জনস্বাস্থ্য, ইত্যাদি ইত্যাদি বিষয়ে হাতেকলমে কাজ শিখিবার জন্য গ্রামে গ্রামে ঘুরিয়া বেড়াইতেছে, কৃষকদের সহিত মিশিয়া তাহাদের দৃষ্টি দূর করিবার চেষ্টা করিতেছে। ঝাড়গ্রামের গ্রাম-উন্নয়ন “ব্লকের” অধিবাসীরা ছাড়া আর কেহ এই প্রবন্ধ পাঠ করিলে তথাকথিত এই কর্মদল, এই শিক্ষাকেন্দ্র সম্বন্ধে প্রশংসায় পণ্ডমুখ হইয়া উঠিবেন; কিন্তু ঝাড়গ্রামের অধিবাসীদের প্রকৃত দৃষ্টিশক্তির অভাব রহিয়াছে। এই প্রবন্ধ পাঠ করিবার পর আমরা উন্নয়ন “ব্লকের” বহু স্থানে খোঁজ করিয়াছি; সকলে বলেন এই শিক্ষার্থীর কোনও দল কলারও জমিতে পদার্পণ করে নাই।

[10-15—10-20 a.m.]

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Is my friend willing to take responsibility for the correctness of the statement that he is making?

**Mr. Chairman:** You are quoting from a paper.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** I am quoting from a paper, dated the 14th July. The Department has not dared to contradict it.

**Mr. Chairman:** You can lay it on the table for the notice of members. Now you are quoting before the House, you are evidently taking the responsibility for the statements made.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** I have got these photographs.....

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Annada Babu knows very well—he is an old parliamentarian—at whenever a member of the House reads out from a newspaper, he has to take responsibility for the correctness of that statement; otherwise he should not make that statement.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** have made enquiries and I am satisfied, therefore, I am showing the photograph....

**Mr. Chairman:** You are satisfied as to its correctness?

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** have made enquiries to the extent that is possible for me.

এই ব্যাপারে আমার যা বলবার বলছি। তারা ই ছবি দিয়ে যা প্রমাণ করতে হয় করবেন। জুল্লাবাবুর এ-সম্বন্ধে ব্যক্তিগত জ্ঞান আছে।

মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় ঋণপত্র সম্বন্ধে কিছুদিন আগে বলেছিলেন যে উন্নয়নের কাজে তারা যদি কোরক টাকা ধার দেয় তাহলে সেই টাকার পর সুদ পাবে এবং তার দ্বারা গ্রামের উন্নয়নের কাজ করা হবে। গ্রামের লোক ত ঋণপত্র কিনতে সন্তুষ্ট। আমি তাদের কেনাতে পারি; গ্রামের লোক দান দিয়েছে—৬ মাসের মধ্যে আমার হাতে সম্প্রদায় করার জন্য ১০ লক্ষ টাকা দিয়েছিল। আজ সেই সব লোকের কাছে গেলে আমার মাথা ঠেঁসে যায়; সেই সব কেন্দ্রের কাজ এখনও পর্যন্ত চলছে।

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:**

উনি ওর গ্রাম থেকে তুলতে পারবেন না, কিন্তু আমার তুলতে পেরেছি।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Chaudhuri:**

শহর থেকে কত তুলেছেন?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:**

২০ লক্ষ টাকা এ পর্যন্ত উঠেছে।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Chaudhuri:**

কলিকাতা শহর থেকে টাকা তুলুন, টাকা নিয়ে সিমেন্টকে রেখে দিন, লোকে সন্তুষ্ট হবে।

তারপর জুলাই মাসে প্রফুল্লবাবু আমার গ্রামের কাছে জাড়াগ্রামে এক "প্রাইজ ডিস্ট্রিবিউশন"এ গিয়ে বললেন যে সেখানকার লোকে ৩০০ টাকা ন্যাশনাল সার্ভিসে সার্টিফিকেট যদি কেনে তাহলে তাদের গিয়ে একটা টিউব-ওয়েল কোর দেওয়া হবে। সার্কেল অফিসারের কাছে এস্.ডি.ওর কাছে গ্রামের লোক দরখাস্ত করতে লাগল; তারাও "রেকমেন্ড" করলেন, কিন্তু কিছুই হয় না। প্রফুল্লবাবুর কাছে চিঠি লিখলাম—আপনি কি এরকম বলেছিলেন? তাহলে আমি দুটো টিউব-ওয়েলের জন্য ন্যাশনাল সার্ভিসে সার্টিফিকেট কিনতে পারি। ৬ই জুলাই প্রফুল্লবাবুকে জানিয়েছিলাম। অন্য গ্রামের লোকেরাও দরখাস্ত করলে "সার্কেল অফিসার রেকমেন্ড" করলেন, কিন্তু কেন জানি না, লিখলেন—

"Regarding the scheme referred to in your letter it could not be implemented for certain difficulties."

এই রকমভাবে লোকের কাছে যদি বলেন "টিউব-ওয়েল পাবে, স্বাস্থ্যকেন্দ্র পাবে, টাকা দাও" তাহলে অনেক টাকা পাবেন, তারা দেবে বিশ্বাস কোরে, কিন্তু যখন দেখবে যে হচ্ছে না তখন কি জনসাধারণের সাহায্য ও সহযোগিতা পাবেন? তা পাবেন না—যতই সেটা মুখে চাওয়া হোক না কেন।

তারপরে আরও কি রকম ঘটনা ঘটে স্বাস্থ্যকেন্দ্রের ব্যাপারে তা বলি। ১৯৪৭-৪৮ সালে কি হল? চন্দ্রকোণা থানার প্রত্যেকটি ইউনিয়নে একটি কোর স্বাস্থ্যকেন্দ্র হবে। লোকে টাকা তুললে, জমি দান করলে; তাদের গ্রামে যে "আউটডোর ডিসপেনসারী" ছিল সেটা বন্ধ হল; জমিতে ইট গেল, বাড়ী তৈরী হল, তারপরে ডি. পি. দত্ত মহাশয়ের পক্ষ একজন সাহায্য কোরে চিঠি লিখলেন ডি. পি. দত্ত ফর ডি. পি. দত্ত ১লা জুন তারিখে।

[10-20—10-25 a.m.]

"Kindly refer to your letter, dated 4th May, 1953. The proposal for the establishment of a ten-bedded Union Health Centre in Boaldanga in Mangur has been included in the programme. Possibly, the Health Centres in the other two places are also being explored, has been included in the programme....."

[Sj Annada Prosad Chaudhuri.]

১৪ই জুলাই তারিখে একটা চিঠি গেল “মেডিক্যাল এন্ড পাবলিক হেলথ ডিপার্টমেন্ট” থেকে—

“the undersigned is directed to convey the administrative approval of Government for the construction of a building according to plan and specification for the Union Health Centre without hospital.....”

একমাস আগে বলেছেন ৬টা “বেড”, ৬ বৎসর আগে ঠিক ছিল ৪টা “বেড”, তারপরে ১ মাস পরে বললেন “that Dispensary of Mangur will be without hospital.”

সরকারের টাকা নাই। এই গ্রামে একটা “আউট-ডোর ডিসপেন্সারী” ছিল; সেই “আউট-ডোর ডিসপেন্সারী” জন্য ৪,০০০ টাকা ডিস্ট্রিক্ট বোর্ডের কাছে জমা রাখলে; সে টাকা তারা গভর্ণমেন্টের কাছে “ট্রান্সফার” করেছে; সেই “আউট-ডোর ডিসপেন্সারী” অচল হ'ল, এবং সেই জমিতে যে “স্কিম” করলেন তা হ'ল না— টাকা নেই, ৪৪ হাজার টাকা দিয়ে পাকা বাড়ী কোরে “আউট-ডোর ডিসপেন্সারী” করা হ'ল। ৬ বৎসর আগে ছিল ৪টা “বেড”; জুন মাসেব ১লা তারিখেও জানুই ৬ “বেড”, তারপরে ১৪ই জুলাই একবারে “নো বেড”। ১৯৪৭-৪৮ সালে এবং তার আগে ওখানকার স্বাস্থ্যকেন্দ্রের যখন পরিকল্পনা গৃহীত হয়েছিল তখন তাদের কাছে যে সব কথা বোলে গভর্ণমেন্টের তরফ থেকে টাকা নেওয়া হয়েছিল সেই সব প্রতিশ্রুতি এখন উড়িয়ে দিচ্ছেন। আর একটা জায়গায় কথা বলতে পারি যেখানে লোকে টাকা তুলে দিলে। তারপরে ২৪শে জানুয়ারীতে ডাঃ বিধানচন্দ্র রায়ের কাছ থেকে আমি একটা চিঠি পেলাম। সেখানে এক জায়গায় ৫০ “বেড”-এর “হস্পিটাল” করা হচ্ছে, একজন ২০ হাজার টাকা দান করেছে। তারপরে সেটা ২০টা “বেড” হয়ে গেল। আমি তাকে লিখেছিলাম—

A 50-bedded hospital costs nearly Rs. 2,25,000 in construction and nearly Rs. 60,000 in maintenance.

তিনি একজন বিচ্ছিন্ন ডাক্তার; “ডোর কমিটীর” মেম্বর থাকাকালে স্বাস্থ্যকেন্দ্রের কথায় জোর কোরে তাঁর রিপোর্টে বলেছিলেন, তখন তিনি কি জানতেন না যে কত টাকা লাগে? এখন টাকা জমা দেওয়ার পর ১ বৎসর বা ১১ বৎসর পরে জান হ'ল যে বাড়ী করতে ২,২৫,০০০ টাকা লাগে এবং “মেইনটেন্যান্স”-এর জন্য ৬০ হাজার টাকা লাগে, অতএব ৫০ “বেড”-এর স্বাস্থ্যকেন্দ্র করতে পারি না, তাই ২০টা “বেড” দেব? যাই হোক স্যার। ওরা করছেন, ওরাই বোঝেন ভাল; কিন্তু আমার যা মত, আমি এ-বিষয়ে ঠুন্দের কাছে নিবেদন করতে চাই যে জনসাধারণ যদি এই অবস্থায় পড়ে তাদের কাছ থেকে সাহায্য পাওয়া দুঃস্থ ব্যাপার হবে যদি সত্য সত্যই ওরা সহযোগিতা চান।

তারপরে “ফারটাইলজার”-এর কথা—তা বলা হয়েছে; তা ছাড়া কৃষি-বিভাগেও বহু টাকা

খরচ হয় “ট্রাঙ্ক ইরিগেশন”-এর জন্য। কিছুদিন আগে বলা হ'ল আমরা এত লক্ষ টাকা খরচ কোরে এত পুকুর কাটিয়েছি, সেই পুকুর থেকে এত বিঘা জমিতে জল দেওয়া হবে, এবং সেই জমি থেকে এত লক্ষ মণ ফসল উঠবে। আমরা গ্রামে কতকগুলি পুকুর কাটান হয়েছিল, তাহলে জল নাই। সে জল যত বিঘা জমিতে দেওয়া হয় কথ্য ছিল তত বিঘা জমিতে দেওয়ার মত জল নাই। গ্রামের লোকেরা দরখাস্ত করলে “ট্রাঙ্ক ইম্প্রুভমেন্ট কালেক্টর”-এর কাছে; তিনি সেখানে গেলেন, খোঁজ খবর কোরে বললেন ঠিক আছে এ অভিযোগ ঠিক নয়! তারপরে ডাঃ রায়ের কাছে চিঠি লিখলাম যে এই যে লোকের উপর এরকম ট্যাঙ্ক খরচ করা হচ্ছে, এবং তারা না দিতে পারলে তাদের উপর “সার্টিফিকেট” কোরে ঘরটিবাটী টানা হচ্ছে, কিন্তু যতখানি জমিতে জল দেবার হিসাব হচ্ছে তত জল যে পুকুরে নাই। অনেক লেখা-পড়া করবার পর তিনি একজন “ডেপুটী সেক্রেটারীকে” পাঠিয়ে দিলেন, আমি তাকে ৩টা পুকুর দেখালাম, আর একটা পুকুরের কথা বললাম। তিনি অঁকি কয়ে হিসাব কোরে দেখলেন যে “হাইয়েন্ট লেভেল”-এ এই রকম জল দিতে গেলে ২ লক্ষ “কিউবিক ফুট” জল হবে। যদি ৩ ইঞ্চি “স্প্রিং” কোরে দেওয়া হয় তাহলেও ৪ লক্ষ “কিউবিক ফুট” জল দরকার। তাও জল গড়িয়ে দেওয়া হবে না। তাহলে শূঁষে যাবে। যদি “স্প্রিং” কোরে দেওয়া হয় তাহলেও ৪ লক্ষ “কিউবিক ফুট” জলের দরকার; অর্থাৎ ৩ ইঞ্চি “স্প্রিং” কোরে দেবার জলও নাই। তখন তিনি বলেছেন যে “রং সিলেকশন” হয়েছে।

[10-25 -10-30 a.m.]

তিনি রিপোর্ট দেওয়ার পর প্রধানমন্ত্রী মহাশয় লিখলেন—

“I understand steps are already being taken to meet the defects found by the Deputy Secretary. I am asking the Agriculture Department to reconsider the imposition of assessment of lands irrigated by three tanks which have been inspected by the Deputy Secretary. I am waiting to find what action the District Officer takes on the report.”

কিন্তু আমি আজ পর্যন্ত জানি যে এ-বিষয়ে কিছুই হয় নাই। তিনি ৩টা পুকুর দেখেছেন, আর একটা পুকুরের কথা যখন বললাম তখন “ট্রাঙ্ক ইম্প্রুভমেন্ট কালেক্টর” বললেন এ পুকুরে জল নাই, আর দেখতে গিয়ে কি হবে? তাই আমি ৪টা পুকুরের কথা বললাম। এই জন্য বলি যে যে টাকা খরচ তার যদি এরকম অপব্যয় হয় তাহলে আমি অনুরোধ করি গভর্ণমেন্টে স্বার্থের জন্য এবং জনসাধারণের মঙ্গলের জন্য যে একটা “এনকোয়ারীর কমিটী” কোরে পশ্চিম বাংলা বিভিন্ন জায়গায় যেখানে “ট্রাঙ্ক ইম্প্রুভমেন্ট”-এর জন্য যে টাকা খরচ করা হয়েছে তার জন্য যত বিঘা জমিতে জল পাবে বলা হয়েছিল তা হয়েছে কিনা সেটা কোন উচ্চপদস্থ কর্মচারীর

স্বারা অনুসন্ধান করা হউক। উচ্চপদস্থ কর্মচারীর কথা বলছি এজন্য যে এই যে ওটা ট্যাক্স, যার জন্য বিধানবাক্যে আমি বলেছি এবং সেখানকার লোকেরা একাধিকবার দরখাস্ত করেছে এবং সেখানকার “ট্যাক্স ইমপ্রুভমেন্ট কালেক্টর” বলেছেন যে ঠিক আছে এবং তারপরে যখন “ডেপুটি সেক্রেটারী”কে সেখানে পাঠালেন তখন তিনি বলেন যে ঠিক নেই, তাদের “রেমিশন” দেওয়া উচিত। তাই বল সর্বাধিকার জনসাধারণের সহযোগিতা যদি চান তাহলে প্রত্যেক ক্ষেত্রেই যেভাবে চলছে এইভাবে চললে সহযোগিতা পাবেন না। বরং জনসাধারণ বিক্ষুব্ধ হয়ে উঠবে। এই নিবেদন শ্রমের কাছে করতে চাই।

তারপরে “মিসলেনিয়াস ডিপার্টমেন্ট” সম্বন্ধে “এম্প্লয়ীজ স্টেট ইন্সিওরেন্স”এর কথা—এতে কিছু টাকা বরাদ্দ করা আছে। ১,২০০ দরখাস্ত এসেছে, ১৫০ জন ডাক্তার নেওয়া হবে, অন্য ডাক্তারদের নেওয়া হবে না। এতে ঠিক করা হয়েছে যে এক একজন লোকের চিকিৎসার জন্য বৎসরে ২ টাকা ঔষধ বাবদ খরচ হবে। যে লোক “ইন্সুর” কববে সেই বাস্তব বাড়ীর “হেড-ম্যান”কেই কেবল সেই ডাক্তার চিকিৎসা কববেন, তাঁর পরিবারের অন্য লোককে নয়। “স্টেট ইন্সিওরেন্স”এর কথা বড়ই সুন্দর, মধুর; বড় বড় কথা তাঁরা কবছেন বোলে বড় বড় কথা শোনান। কিন্তু এই ২ টাকা বরাদ্দ এতে কি হবে? “চীফ মিনিষ্টার” মহাশয় ভাল কোরে সব জানেন। কিন্তু উত্তর দেননি ত “ডেপুটি মিনিষ্টার” অমলাবাব, জনৈক সদস্য: “ডেপুটি মিনিষ্টার” নন, তিনি এখন “স্টেট মিনিষ্টার”—

I beg your pardon, Minister of State—

তিনি উত্তর দেননি। তিনি জানেন “ইন্ট পাজাব”এ এই বকম ২ টাকা “স্যাংসান” করা হয়েছে, কিন্তু চিকিৎসা কবতে গিয়ে ডাক্তারেরা ৩ মাসে এই টাকাটা শেষ কোরে ফেলেছেন। তার জন্য গভর্ন-মেন্টকে তাঁদের ডাক্তারদের কাছে লিখতে হয়েছে যে তোমরা “পেনিসিলিন” ইত্যাদির মত মূল্যবান ঔষধ “প্রেসক্রাইব” করবে না, মামুলী ঔষধ দেবে। তাতে যা চিকিৎসা হয় তাই করবে। মাননীয় অমলাবাব, ইতিমধ্যে কানপুর গিয়েছেন কিনা, এবং উত্তরপ্রদেশ গভর্নমেন্টের অভিজ্ঞতা জেনে এসেছেন কিনা জানি না। অন্যান্য রাজ্য-সরকারেও যা হয়েছে তা থেকে জ্ঞান লাভ কোরে মনে মনে আশঙ্ক করতে পারেন যে আমরা “এম্প্লয়ীজ স্টেট ইন্সিওরেন্স” কোরে দিলাম; কিন্তু “গ্রানোপ্যাথিক” চিকিৎসার জন্য এক একটা রোগী-প্রতি ২ টাকা মজুর কোরে যদি তাঁদের কর্তব্য সমাধা করেন তাহলে তাতে তাঁদের মনে সন্তুষ্টি আসতে পারে। কিন্তু যাদের জন্য “স্টেট ইন্সিওরেন্স” করা হয়েছে, তারা সন্তুষ্ট হবে না এবং জনসাধারণও হবে না।

**The Hon'ble Kali Pada Mookerjee:**

২ টাকা নয়, ৭৯ টাকা। কানপুর ও দিল্লীতে ১৭ আনা।

[10-30—10-35 a.m.]

**Sj. Annada Prosad Chaudhuri:**

আজ্ঞা, তাহলেও মন্দের ভাল। এখন “ফর্মিন” সম্বন্ধে বলছি। তাতে বহু টাকা খরচ করা হয়েছে। “জাই ডোল” দেওয়া হয়েছে ৭ লক্ষ ৬০ হাজার লোককে, তাদের মধ্যে গম, আটা, চাউল দেওয়া হয়েছে ১২৯,৭৭৯ মণ; কিন্তু কোন জায়গায় কষ দেওয়া হয়নি যে কতজন লোক কত পেয়েছে। আমি অঙ্ক কষে দেখেছি যে এই “ওয়েলফেয়ার স্টেট” যা লোককে বাঁচিয়ে রাখতে চেষ্টা করেছে, সে এক একজন লোককে দৈনিক “জাই ডোল” দিচ্ছে ২-৭৫ বা পোনে ৩ ছটাক কোরে। তাতে যত বাঁচে বাঁচুক, আর যত মরে যাবার মত থাকুক। তার জন্য রিলিফে এত টাকা খরচ করা হচ্ছে। আমাদের কথা কিনা— যদি দিতে চান তবে ভাল কোরে দিন; অন্যভাবে কলিকাতার রেশন এলাকায় যে পরিমাণ চাল, গম, আটা দেওয়া হয়, অন্ততঃ সেই পরিমাণ দিন; তাদের আধপেটা রেখে ৭ লক্ষ ৬০ হাজার লোককে “জাই ডোল” দিচ্ছি একথা বলতে অনায়াস করা হয়।

তারপর রিলিফের কাজ সম্বন্ধে আমরা এতদূর পর্যন্ত জেনে এসেছি যে এই সেবার ভার নিরে রক্ষণ মিশন, ভাবত সেবাশ্রম সংঘ, প্রভৃতি সমিতির কার্য। কিন্তু এই সুন্দরবন রিলিফের কাজে যেখানে সরকার থেকে বিল হয়েছিল তাতে এক এক মণ জিনিস সুন্দরবনে নিয়ে যাবার জন্য কংগ্রেস বিন করেছে ১৯৯ টাকা, ভারত সেবাশ্রম সংঘ ও রক্ষণ মিশন করেছে ৪ আনা এবং “মাদেয়াবী রিলিফ সোসাইটি” করেছে ৪ আনা কোরে। শ্রমোচ্চ কংগ্রেসের যারা ভলান্টিয়ার বা স্বেচ্ছা তাঁদের খরচ একটু বেশী, তাই তাঁদের মণপ্রতি ১৭ টাকা লাগে। এজন্য “ফাইন্যান্স ডিপার্টমেন্ট” হয়েছে যে ওদের যদি ৫ আনা লাগে এদের ১৯৯ টাকা লাগবে কেন? এজন্য তাদের কাছে কৈফিয়ত চাওয়া হয়েছে এবং তাদের টাকা দেওয়া হচ্ছে না। শ্রমোচ্চ ওদের নাকি এতদিন পরে ২৫ “পার্শেন্ট” দেওয়া হয়েছে, অর্থাৎ ১৩ টাকার জায়গায় ৮ আনা, আর ৫ আনা খরচ করলে ৮ আনা এবং বারো অনেক কষ্ট কোরে ৯ আনা কোরে করেছে তাদের ৮ আনা।

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:**

এটা সত্য নয়, কাকেও কদম দেওয়া হয়নি। জনৈক সদস্য: অর্থাৎ কিছুই দেওয়া হয়নি।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Chaudhuri:**

আজ্ঞা! আপনরা পরে বলবেন, আমার তখন বলবার সুযোগ থাকবে না। তাই বলছি, সারা কংগ্রেসের লোকেরা বোধ হয় কর্মমাত্র পথে নিয়ে গিয়েছিল, তাই বেশী খরচ হয়েছে। এখন থেকে কার্মি গিয়েছে, বোধ হয় হাসানাবাদ ঘরে, তাই বেশ হয় মত বেশী হয়েছে।

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:**

কোন পরসা দেওয়া হয়নি; সবাইকে এক রেটে দেওয়া হবে। কাজেই ওকথা বোলে লাভ নেই।

**8j. Annada Prosad Chaudhuri:**

সবাইকে যদি দেড় টাকা কোরে দেওয়া হয় ত ভালই হবে; কিন্তু যারা প্রকৃত সেবার কাজ করেছে তারা আজ পর্যন্ত টাকা পাননি।

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:**

আমরা একই রকম রেটে সকলকে দিই।

**8j. Annada Prosad Chaudhuri:**

কিন্তু যারা বৎসরাধিক কাল সেবার কাজ করেছে তারা এখনও পর্যন্ত বয়ে নিয়ে যাবার পরসটা পাননি।

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:**

সেটা সত্য কথা।

**8j. Annada Prosad Chaudhuri:**

বোধ হয় ঠুগা বৃত্তে চান ওদের হাতে রাখা দরকার। সেবার কাজ যারা করবে তাদের হাতে রাখা দরকার।

[10-35—10-40 a.m.]

তারপরে "স্টেট ট্রেডিং"এ "টোকন গ্রান্ট" ১ টাকার ব্যবস্থা আছে; সেই ১ টাকার মানে এই কাজ আমবা করতে চাই, কিন্তু ব্যাপারটা কি, না—

"with a view to making gram dal available to consumers in the Calcutta industrial area at cheaper price it has been decided to procure the commodity from selected dealers in Calcutta and distribute it through ration shops."

এটা পড়ে, স্যার, আমার মনে আতঙ্ক হয়েছে এবং আমি আপনাকে বলি যে এই পশ্চিমবঙ্গ সরকার থেকে কিছু দিন আগে একটা "সুগার প্রাইসেস রিডাকশন ক্যাম্পেন" আরম্ভ হ'ল। ব্যবসায়ীরা চিনির দাম বাড়িয়ে নেন, অতএব দামটা কম করতে হবে। তারপরে যখন "ডি, ২৮" একটা ভাল "কোয়ালিটার" চিনি "ইন্ডিয়া গভর্নমেন্ট" বিদেশ থেকে এখানে জাহাজে কোরে এনে দিলে তখন একদল ব্যবসায়ী "ভারত সুগার মার্চেন্টস্ এসোসিয়েশন"—তারা বলেন যে আমরা সারা বাংলাদেশে ৫১০ দরে খুচরা বিক্রী করতে পারি, আমাদের এই চিনি দাও। কিন্তু সরকার বলেন না, তোমরা ব্যবসা বোঝ না, তোমরা ৫১০ আনা দরে বিক্রী করলে তোমাদের লোকসান হবে। তাই আমরা ৫/ আনা দরে "সিলেক্টেড ডিলার"কে দিয়ে বিক্রী করাব। তোমরা দেখছি ব্যবসা বোঝ না। এই চিনির পরিমাণ ১ মণ ২ মণ নয়। "৩৫ থাউজ্যান্ড টনস অফ ইম্পোর্টেড সুগার" এবং "৫০ থাউজ্যান্ড টনস অফ ইন্ডিয়ান সুগার"। এতে ২ পরসা যদি সরপ্রতি দেওয়া হয় তাহলে কত হবে একবার বুঝে দেখুন। আমি হয়ত সব জানি না,

মন্ত্রীমহাশয় পরিষ্কার কোরে বলেন। তবে চিনির ব্যাপারে যে রকম "সিলেক্টেড ডিলার"এর মারফৎ ৫১০ আনা দরে বিক্রী না কোরে ৫/ আনা দরে বিক্রী করবেন সেই রকম ডাল বিক্রী করবার সময় "সিলেক্টেড ডিলার" খুঁজে বার করা হবে কিনা এটা বুঝে দেখলে ভাল হবে।

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:**

৫১০ আনাতেই বিক্রী করা হচ্ছে; ৫/ আনার নয়।

**8j. Sachindra Nath Misra:**

একটা ফটো দিতে পারলেন না, কোথায় বিক্রী হচ্ছে?

**8j. Annada Prosad Chaudhuri:**

মালদহ জেলার ফটো এনে দিতে পারি। মুখে কেন বলেন না? মুখে বললে মালদহের কেন, হরিশ্চন্দ্রপুরেরও ছবি দিতে পারব; চিন্তা করেন কেন?

স্যার! আমি মা বলালাম এর উত্তরে হয়ত প্রধান মন্ত্রীমহাশয় যখন আগে বলেছেন তেমনটি আবার বলেন যে এসব কথা তাকে জানালে প্রতিকার হবে। আমি চিঠি অনেক লিখেছি; কিন্তু দুঃস্থের কথা যে বিভাগের বিরুদ্ধে চিঠি লিখি সে সম্বন্ধে তাই অফিস থেকে অন্ততঃ একটা ছাপা উত্তর আসে যে যে বিভাগের বিরুদ্ধে অভিযোগ করেছি তার সঙ্গে পত্র ব্যবহার কর। "পাবলিসিটি ডিপার্টমেন্টের" এই দোষ এ-কথা শুকে লিখলাম, কিন্তু ঠিক অফিস থেকে লিখে পাঠানো "ডিরেক্টর অফ পাবলিসিটির" সঙ্গে এ-বিষয়ে পত্র ব্যবহার কর। আমি শুকে দেখলাম, উনি লাল পেন্সিল দিয়ে দাগ দিয়ে বলেন "এ যোরতর অন্যায় হয়েছে"। তারপর থেকেও আবার এসেছে। আমি একটা হাসপাতাল থেকে লিখলাম; বলেন "ডিরেক্টর অফ হেল্থ সার্ভিসেস"এর সঙ্গে পত্র ব্যবহার কর। তাই বলছি তারা একটা "স্ট্রাকচার" তৈরী করছেন, একটা শরীর খাড়া, করছেন, কিন্তু তার মধ্যে যে কার্যকরী শক্তি, তার মধ্যে যে সহযোগিতার কথা, এত বড় কোরে বলেন সেই সহযোগিতা পাওয়ার জন্য তাতে প্রাণ সঞ্চার করতে পারছেন না।

তাই বলছি স্যার! আমি যদি ভুল বলে থাকি ঠুগা ঠিক কোরে দিয়ে বলেন এবং আমি যদি কম বলে থাকি বেশী কোরে বলেন—আমি প্রস্তুত আছি আমার ভুল সংশোধন কোরে নিতে।

[10-40—10-45 a.m.]

**8j. Pannalal Saraogi:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I shall make a very small speech and only refer to certain points raised by my friend Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri in relation to the sale of sugar in Calcutta. As a member of the Advisory Board constituted by Government



[Sj. Hriday Bhushan Chakrabarty.]

কাজের মধ্যে যান না—সভায় বস্তুত করেন।

(Dr. M. M. CHAKRABARTY :

কতটা করে দেওয়া হয়েছিল তা ত বলেন না।)

[10-45—10-50 a.m.]

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:**

Sir, at the very outset I must say that the presentation of a supplementary budget is a thing to which I cannot take any reasonable exception. Even in the best-managed household contingencies might arise which could not have been provided for in time. Therefore it is always necessary to make provision for unforeseen expenditure afterwards. So on that analogy the presentation of a supplementary budget cannot be taken exception to, and it is for that reason that in the Constitution there has been made ample provision for the presentation of Supplementary Budget. But, Sir, there is one thing to which I must draw the attention of the Government. The Budget is the index of the policy which the Government follows.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Not this Budget.

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:** Of course, not.

Still when the Government makes provision for Supplementary Budget they must have thought that certain things were necessary which could not be properly provided for in time. For instance, many items of expenditure have been put in the Supplementary Budget because Government thought that they were absolutely necessary. Sir, I think Government ought to have taken into consideration certain other things which are also absolutely necessary. After the presentation of the Annual Budget certain things have occurred in the educational field of which the Government should have taken notice. Sir, the secondary teachers of Bengal have given almost an ultimatum to the Government that unless their

demands are met—demands which have been backed even by a semi-official body like the West Bengal Secondary Board, they will have no other alternative than to go on strike for an indefinite period. Government must have been aware of the situation created by this decision of the teachers. Therefore it is unfortunate that nothing has been provided for in the Supplementary Budget to meet the demands of the teachers.

[10-50—10-55 a.m.]

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Sir, may I request my friend to keep back his vocabulary till the resolution of Sj. Nirmal Bhattacharyya comes.

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:**

Yes Sir, I will do that. Now as regards the different items in the Supplementary Budget, I have nothing much to comment except on only two or three points about which I had speak. First is the removal of *khatahs*. This is a welcome measure. *Khatahs* should be removed far away from Calcutta. The decision of the Government to remove the *Khatahs* to Haringhata is therefore welcome. One thing however, I must say in this connection. There is no proper transport arrangement between Haringhata and the city of Calcutta. Many young men who have taken to the milk business of late have been telling me that they are afraid of removing their cattle to Haringhata as it would not be easy for them to bring milk from that place, because of the unsatisfactory condition of transport facilities. I would request the Government to see that transport arrangements improve.

My second point will be in connection with the item, viz., the sinking of tube-wells. I find that the cost of each tube-well would be about Rs. 4,000. That seems to be enormous! Of late I tried to have a tube-well sunk in my compound in Ballygani. They gave me an estimate of Rs. 1,500 as its probable cost. I do not know whether tube-wells which would have to be sunk in different places in the Sundarbans would require Rs. 4,000 each.

True, my friend Mr. Chakrabarty has just now told us that these tube-wells would be about 1,200 feet deep, but still the cost of Rs. 4,000 for each tube-well appears to be rather too much. I would therefore ask the Government to see that the cost does not exceed Rs. 2,000 for each tube-well.

My next comment will be on the Employees State Insurance Scheme. My friend Sj. Annada Prosad Chaudhuri has told almost all that I wanted to say on the point. He has rightly observed that the cost of medicine provided for in the scheme is ridiculously low.

[10-55—11 a.m.]

If the Government think otherwise, the Minister in charge of the Medical Department ought to tell us exactly what amount they actually propose to provide for medicine under this scheme. If it is only Rs. 2 per head, then I do not think that it would cover the expenditure of medicine which would be required for the proper treatment of a patient. So, more light is required on that point.

Then, Sir, there is another point on which also I shall say a few words, that is, rice supplied to us in Calcutta. As the presentation of budget estimate is the only occasion on which we can ventilate our grievances, I would utilise this opportunity to speak about the quality of rice which is being supplied by my friend Mr. Sen. Now as regards the quality of this rice, nothing more requires to be said than that most of the people who have unfortunately to consume it are suffering from dyspepsia or diarrhoea. On the last occasion when the Supplementary Budget was to be discussed, I myself was a victim to diarrhoea because of the fact that for three or four days previously I had to take this kind of rice. I hope every one of us here will bear me out when I say that the rice which we have got to consume is not the rice which suits our constitution. Sir, I have heard the explanation from the Food Minister as to why the quality of rice is not satisfactory. He has

told us that he has got to buy rice from Orissa and that the Government of Orissa have taken the unreasonable attitude of saying that they would give us only this particular kind of rice and nothing else even if this is of a bad quality; and further more, we have been told that if our Government refuse to take this rice, the Orissa Government would say "well, either you take it or go away; we have no other quality of rice". Now, this may be true. But I cannot understand how in the British days, in the pre-independence days, the quality of rice was not so bad. Of course, I know that the rice of Barisal or the rice of Dinajpur is not available to us now as before. (The Hon'ble PRAFULLA CHANDRA SEN: What about Khulna? Also the population has increased.) Still that does not explain the position that has arisen. I have gone to some places in Orissa and I have found that the rice there is not as bad as it is supplied here. Is it a fact that good rice is being kept by the Orissa Government for their own internal consumption and only the worse type of rice is being supplied to us? If that is the position, then Government, and certainly our Chief Minister whose influence knows no bounds, should see that proper and good quality rice is supplied to us here in Calcutta. The situation has become almost intolerable. So, I would again request Government to take note of this point and consider how they can remove this grievance regarding food. In the Lower House one of the speakers pointed out the other day that good quality of rice is not—

**Mr. Chairman:** You cannot refer to points raised in the other House.

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:**

All right, Sir, forget my reference to the other House. The report is that good quality rice is brought from other Provinces, and that the contractors who bring this rice replace this good quality rice by inferior quality rice. The Food Minister ought to enquire how far this complaint is true.



[Sj. Mohitosh Rai Chaudhuri.]

[11—11.5 a.m.]

Sir, the last point which I would urge upon the Government is this. In the State Insurance Scheme the case of Secondary and Primary teachers ought to be included. I would ask Government to see if in the next Budget they could do this Insurance Scheme. They must have seen that the Secondary Education Committee which submitted their report the other day has pointed out that free medical help ought to be forthcoming to all the teachers of the State. The next time therefore, when the Government would be trying to extend the sphere of its Employees Insurance Scheme, I would appeal to them to remember the case of the members of the teaching profession.

**Sj. Charu Chandra Sanyal:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, before the Supplementary Estimate was placed before the House a message was read to us stating that it was a Money Bill. Regarding a Money Bill under sections 202 and 199 this House has the jurisdiction only of discussion and tendering some advice and nothing else. So it comes under the purview of general discussion and I shall limit my observations on the general discussion as permissible under section 202. It is up to the Government either to accept it or to reject it or to do neither. Before commencement I like to bring it to the notice of the House that under Grant No. 2, Rs. 13 lakhs have been set apart for survey, settlement and record operations and in the explanatory memorandum it is written that the additional grant is required to meet the cost of preliminary arrangements for revisional settlement and in the speech of the Finance Minister the other day he has also admitted that Rs. 13 lakhs have been asked for revisional settlement operations. I like to know if the operation has been started and where, how much and what is the progress up to date. Then under Grant No. 20—Medical and surgical requisites, etc., in the

explanatory memorandum it is said that it is a book adjustment between Nilratan Sarkar Medical College Hospital and the Central Medical Stores of the Government. I like to know what is the function of the Central Medical Store. Does it sell medicines or distribute them? If it sells what is the cost? Is it less than the market price or the Government purchase all the required medicines and supply them to the different hospitals? But there is adjustment in terms of money so there is some cost and what then is the price? Is it the market price or something extra added to it? Then as regards Public Health. We heard something from Hriday Babu about programme for the construction of 500 tube-wells at a cost of Rs. 20 lakhs. Hriday Babu has said that 180 wells have already been sunk up to a depth of 800, 900 or 1,200 feet. What is the width? The cost depends upon that. I like to know the width of the tube-wells. It is very important regarding the quantity of water-supply.

[11.5—11.10 a.m.]

Are they worked by hand-pump or by power-pump? I ask this because hand-pump cannot raise water from 850 feet below.

**Sj. Hriday Bhusan Chakravarty:**

আমাদের ২৪-পরগণায় এই রকম আছে যে “হাণ্ড পাম্প” এই চলে।

**Sj. Charu Chandra Sanyal:** Even so, it is well and good. But tube-wells sunk 800 feet deep is hard to be worked with hand-pump.

**Sj. Hriday Bhusan Chakravarty:**

সম্ভবনে অন্য কিছু চলে না।

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakravarty:**

“পাওয়ার পাম্প” চলে না—এ তো বড় আশ্চর্যের কথা। “স্পেশাল ফর সম্ভবন” নাই, তাই চলে না, বলুন।

**Sj. Charu Chandra Sanyal:** It must also be ascertained what type

of water is obtained from those tube-wells. Because of the proximity of the sea the water may be saline. We must first of all ascertain whether it is sweet water or saline water and I must ask whether any analysis has been made and, if so, I should like to know what is the report of the analysis of the average water taken from 150 tube-wells. That is also very important. Then in some cases we find that such tube-well water contains a lot of iron. I find that 20 lakhs of rupees is going to be spent and already 180 tube-wells have been sunk and another 320 are going to be sunk. We should therefore like to know the quality of the water obtained from these tube-wells for this is very important from the public health point of view.

Under Agriculture Annada Babu has raised the question regarding the scheme for the distribution of fertilisers and manures. Of course it is the general custom to put everything under contingencies until the Budget is passed, and in the case of the Supplementary Budget such grants are generally put under contingencies. It contains in this case the cost of manures and also of distribution. But, Annada Babu has said that he wants to know how much extra manure is to be purchased and that at what cost. We should also like to know this. We are being informed that the manure is being supplied to the agriculturists on loan. I ask, is there any possibility of realising the entire loan from them? Past experience teaches us that not more than 50 per cent. of the loan could ever be realised and I find there is no provision made in the Budget against such a contingency. Whether such unrealised loans will simply undergo a book transfer or anything else? Of course, our auditor here knows the trick far better than ourselves.

Then I find that a sum of Rs. 1,87,000 has been set apart for acquisition of land for the establishment of a Central Jute Agricultural Research Station. I expect that this land should be acquired in the

Kalyani town. Of course, it is up to the Government to select the site.

[11-10—11-15 a.m.]

Then under Grant No. 30 for survey of unemployment a sum of Rs. 2,95,600 has been set apart. I ask, has anything been done yet? Is there any report? If so, we want to see the report at least from the Government side, and whether this money has been set apart only for the sake of the employment of some of the unemployed.

Then as regards appropriation of the contingency fund the Finance Minister has said that it is nothing but a matter of book adjustment. Of course, when the money is spent there will be transfer of items for book adjustment. But this money is being spent or it is going to be spent. It is something like this. Suppose, for instance, a starving man takes some food and dies of dysentery. His may be a case of starvation death or of death from dysentery. Whatever it may be, it is true that the man died. Your book adjustment may be a transfer of items but the expenditure is there, and so I would like to know under what actual head Rs. 50,000 are going to be transferred.

Then under Grant No. 26. In the State Industrial Finance Corporation Rs. 30 lakhs are necessary for subscribing to the capital. It is very good and from the explanatory memorandum it seems that it is established to provide credit to small and medium industries. But I suggest that in view of the zemindary abolition coming to effect the capital should be raised to Rs. 10 crores, if it is to be effective to support small industries through the State and for the time being Rs. 1 crore may be taken as fully subscribed capital and the rest Rs. 9 crores may be subscribed later on. I suggest that instead of a share capital of Rs. 1 crore, let it be raised to Rs. 10 crores to meet future contingency.

Then State Trading—Rs. 13 lakhs. In the supplementary

[Sj. Charu Chandra Sanyal.]  
estimate Re. 1 is put, but does it include the inevitable loss which is always estimated at 10 per cent.? I think the correct figure should have been Rs. 10,000.

Then come Loans and Advances, Grant No. 48, Loans to Artisans and Advances to Cultivators, Miscellaneous Loans and Advances. It is very good to supply loans to the cultivators, but it is the general impression that Government loan need not be repaid and that impression has become very popular and of course dangerous too. I do not know how much the Government expect to realise and I fear not more than 50 per cent. would be realised, and what would be the fate of the other 50 per cent.? Would they also suffer a book transfer? These are the points which I raise with regard to the supplementary estimate. It is no good speaking about good or bad, but from the figures we find some discrepancies and some questions come to our mind and I would request the Government to reply to them. In this connection I remember one of the speeches made in this House by Sijta, Labanyaproya Dutt stating that the Chief Minister has all the burden of Sindbad on him. I do not know whether it is the burden of the Supplementary Budget or of any other thing, and he wants to shake it off. Sir, I hope the Chief Minister will shake the burden off, burden of expenditure or burden of lavish expenditure or may be the burden of excessive public debts. Whatever it may be, I hope the Chief Minister will shake off the burden and stand upright. With these words, I close my observation.

[11-15—11-20 a.m.]

### 8j. Charu Chandra Mahanty:

সভাপতি মহাশয়, এই 'সালিমেন্টারি বাজেট' আলোচনাকালে কোন কোন সদস্য মন্তব্য করেছেন যে এটা গভর্ণমেন্টের দূরদর্শিতার অভাব। এই 'সালিমেন্টারি বাজেট' দাখিল করা যদি

দূরদর্শিতার অভাব তাহলে কোন গভর্ণমেন্টেরই কখনো এইরূপ অতিরিক্ত বাজেট দাখিল করা চলত না। কিন্তু এটার বিধান আমদশের "কনসিট্রাকশন" রয়েছে। তারপরে, যার স্বত দূরদর্শিতাই থাক না কেন কেউ বলতে পারে না, কখন বন্যা আসবে, কখন প্রাকৃতিক একটা বিপর্যয় ঘটবে তার দরুণ কখন কি অতিরিক্ত কাজের আবশ্যক হবে। সারা বৎসরের ভবিষ্যৎ কেউ আগে থাকতে বলতে পারে না, সেই জন্য কম বেশী খরচ হতে পারে, তার জন্যই নতুন বাজেট আনবার বিধান আছে। আমাদের বিরোধী দলের সদস্যরা সকল বিষয়েই গভর্ণমেন্ট কিছু করতে পারেন নাই, তাদের কোথায় কি খুঁজ আছে, হুটি-বিচুটি আছে সেগুলির বিষয় আলোচনা করেন, কিন্তু এই গভর্ণমেন্ট কি করেছেন সে বিষয়ে বিরোধীপক্ষ একটা কথাও বলেন না। (ডাঃ মনীন্দ্র মোহন চক্রবর্তীঃ বিরোধী-পক্ষ খুঁজইত ধরিয়ে দেবে, আপনারা ত খুঁজ দেখতেই পান না।) সেটা যেন দেখাবেন, সপ্তে সপ্তে যদি দেখিয়ে দেন গভর্ণমেন্ট এই এই কাজ করেছেন, এই তাদের কৃতিত্ব তাহলে ভাল হয়। (ডাঃ মনীন্দ্র মোহন চক্রবর্তীঃ সে আর আমাদের বলতে হবে না, আপনারাও ত অনেক বেশী কবে বলছেন।) বর্তমান বৎসরের গত কয় মাস গভর্ণমেন্ট যে কৃতিত্ব দেখিয়েছেন "বিলিফের" ব্যাপারে আমাদের মেদিনীপুর জেলায়, সেটা আমি ভাল করেই জানি। মেদিনীপুর জেলায়, বিশেষ কবে ৪৪টা থানায় এমন দুর্ভিক্ষের অবস্থা উপস্থিত হয়েছিল যে সে ১৯৪৩ সালের অবস্থাকে প্রায় ছাড়িয়ে গিয়েছিল। তাহড়া বন্যায় আরো ৪১৪টা থানা বিধ্বস্ত হয়েছিল। সে সব জায়গায় গভর্ণমেন্ট কৃতিত্বের সহিত "গ্রাউ ইটস নিলিফ" দিয়েছেন, "এগ্রিকালচারাল লোন" দিয়েছেন, এবং "টেম্প্ট প্রিলিফের" কাজ চালিয়েছেন, "কাউন্সিল পারফেক লোন" দিয়েছেন, "ল্যান্ড ইম্প্রুভমেন্ট লোন" দিয়েছেন, এবং অন্য যত প্রকারে "বিলিফ" দেয়া যেতে পারে দেয়া হয়েছে, ফলে লোকেরা বুকতে পেরেছে যে হাঁ এই গভর্ণমেন্টের কৃতিত্ব কতটা। একজন মানুষ মরবে এমন একটা কেস্ও হয় নাই। যদি এই রকম শৃংখলার সহিত "বিলিফের" কাজ না হত তাহলে বহু লোক মরে যেত ১৯৪৩ সালের মতন। কিন্তু একটা লোকও মরেনি।

আমাদের ৪৪টা থানা; খেজুরী, ভগবানপুর, নন্দীগ্রাম ও স্তাহাটা এই চার থানায় ১২ হাজার লোককে "ডোল" দেয়া হয়েছে। অন্নদাবাবু বলেছেন তিনি ন্যাক জানেন না। আমরা জানি, প্রথম সপ্তাহে তিন পোয়া চাল ও পাঁচ পোয়া আটা দেয়া হয়েছে।

### 8j. Annada Prosad Chaudhuri:

আমি অঙ্ক কষে বলতে পারি পোনে তিন ছটাক সবশুদ্ধ দেয়া হয়েছে। মন্ত্রীমহাশয় যে হিসেব দিয়েছেন তাতে বলেছেন—

Mr. Chairman: Let him proceed.

**Sj. Charu Chandra Mahanty:**

প্রথমে পাঁচ হাজার কয়েক জনকে দেয়া হয়েছিল, রপরে ৭৫ হাজার, তারপরে ১ লক্ষ ২০ হাজার লোককে “ডোল” দেয়া হয়। প্রথমে নাম দেয়া হয়, তারপরে দুঃস্থতা দেয়া গেল। এই সবগুলি এক সংগে যোগ করে করার মত কিছু বলতে পারি না। (শ্রীযুক্ত রঙ্গ প্রসাদ চৌধুরিঃ ৩১ দিনে ৭ লক্ষ ৬৩ হার।) জিনিষটা অঙ্ক দিয়ে পাবেন না, ঠা “প্রাকটিক্যালি” যেখানে দেয়া হয়েছিল খান গিয়ে দেখতে পারেন। (শ্রীযুক্ত অমদাদ চৌধুরিঃ তবে আর কাগজ নষ্ট করে জট ছাপানো কেন, সেই দেশে গেলেই ত চলত।) মাদের যেদিনীপের জেলায় প্রত্যেক “য়নিয়নে” ই ডোল” দেয়া হয়েছে। কোন “য়নিয়নে” “পার্শেপ্ট”, কোন “য়নিয়নে” ১২ই “ার্শেপ্ট” দেয়া হয়েছে, কোন “য়নিয়নেই” দেয়া হয় নাই। অনেক আগে থেকে নষ্ট” নেয়া হয়েছিল যে কত লোকের অভাব ছে, “ডিস্ট্রেস” আছে। প্রত্যেক থানার “নিয়ন বোর্ডের” “সয়ারমান”, সেখানকার এল.এ. তিনি কংগ্রেস, কৃষক প্রজা, কমিউনিষ্ট ফরোয়ার্ড” রক যে দলেরই হোক ওদের নিয়ে মতি হয়েছে।

[1-20—11-25 a.m.]

প্রাথমিকভাবেই জিনি, কংগ্রেসের সাংগায় নিয়ে দেয়া হয় ওহ লে ওদের বিরোধীপক্ষের দল করিয়া) চোখ টাট্টিয়ে ওঠ। কেন ঠেয়ে ওঠে জান না। এইখানে একটা কথা বলি বলে বাঁধ, কংগ্রেস কেবল একটা লটিক্যাল পাটী” নয়, বিরোধীপক্ষীয়া যেমন বল “পালিটিক্যাল পাটী”, কংগ্রেসের বাজনীতি গও সেবা কার্য আছে, “কনস্ট্রাক্টিভ ওয়াক” ছে, তাদের আরো কতকগুলি “বোল প্লে” তে হয়; সুতরাং যদি গভর্ণমেন্ট বিশেষ করে প্রেসের তাগী কম্মীসের দ্বারা কিছু কাজ বয়ে নিতে পারেন সেটা অন্যায় হবে বলে মনে করি না। অব এটা স্বাভাবিকও যে গ্রস গভর্ণমেন্ট কংগ্রেস কম্মীদের দ্বারা কিছু র করিয়ে নেন। ওটা থানায় দাঁড়িফের জনা “বিলিফ” দেয়া হয়েছে, তাতে আমাদের গ্রস কম্মীরা লক্ষ টাকা গ্রামেব লোকেরে থে থেকে এনে দিয়েছে। অন্য “পাটীর” টে ত সেখানকার সে “রিলিফের” কাজে যায়। আর যে সব থানায় “বিলিফ” দেয়া হয়েছে সব থানার এম.এল.এরাই তাতে ছিলেন, প্রেসী এম.এল.এরা নয়। তবু কেন যে ঠুঙ্গব খ টাট্টায় বকতে পারি না। কংগ্রেসের হাত য, ওরা চান, কোন কাজ যেন করা হয়, ন্তু আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করতে চাই, অন্য কোন টারী” এই রকম তাগী কম্মী আছে?

**Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

a point of order, Sir. Is the honourable member arguing on the propriation Bill or on the merits d demerits of a particular party?

**Mr. Chairman:** He is expanding his argument.

**Sj. Charu Chandra Mahanty:**

সুতরাং এটা কি “ন্যাচাবাল” যে, যে “কংগ্রেস পাটীর” গভর্ণমেন্ট, সে সেই “কংগ্রেস পাটীর” দ্বারা কোন কাজ করাবে না? তারপরে “কন্ভেন্সেসর” কথা। অমদাবাবু বা অপরে যাই বলুন, আমরা জানি এই যে “রিলিফে ট্রাই ডোল” দেয়া হয়েছিল, তাতে চাল ও আটা নেবার জন্য —আটা আনা করে মণকরা মাথা পিছ দেয়া হয়েছিল। (অনারবল প্রফুল্ল চন্দ্র সেনঃ দেয়া হয় নাই, হবে।) গ্রামের মধ্যে এই আটা আনা করে দিলে লোকের কৈশায় না বলে বহু লোক আপত্তি করেছে, কিন্তু তা সত্ত্বেও ঐ আটা আনা হারেই আমরা দেব। গ্রামে চাল-আটা বহন করে নেবার অন্য কোন উপায় নাই, লোকের মাথাব করে নেয়া ছাড়া, এবং সেই জন্য খবচ একটু বেশী পড়ে।

তারপরে অমদাবাবু “ট্যাক ইরিগেসন” নিয়ে অনেক কথা বলেছেন—অনেক জায়গায় নাকি “সাকসেসফুল” হয় নাই। কিন্তু যেসব জায়গায় “সাকসেসফুল” হয়েছে তা দেখান, সে বোঝা তিন নীচ। কাঙ্রামের ও গড়বতর। যেসব জায়গায় আমি দেখেছি তা লোক এত বেশী উপকার পেয়েছে তা দেখে না দেখলে বোঝানো যায় না। কিন্তু যে সব জায়গায় “সাকসেসফুল” হয় নাই সেখানকার লোকেরা গভর্ণমেন্ট ট্যাক্স ডেডে দিয়েছেন। এটা আমরা প্রমাণ করে দিয়েছি। প্রমুতপক্ষে উপকার যাদের হয় নাই সেখানে “ট্যাক্স একজেন্সন” হয়েছে। (শ্রীযুক্ত অমদাদ প্রসাদ চৌধুরিঃ তা হয় নাই।) অমদাবাবু, যখন “মিনিমটার” ছিলেন, টাকা তুলেছিলেন “হেলথ সেন্টারের” জন্য। কিন্তু তার কটা তিন করে এসেছেন? যে কাজ করে, তার ট্রাটি-বিচ্যুতি দেখানো সহজ। কিন্তু যে কাজ করে না তার আর ট্রাটি-বিচ্যুতি কি হবে? আজ গভর্ণমেন্ট কাজ করছেন বলেই অমদাবাবু ট্রাটি-বিচ্যুতি দেখাচ্ছেন। তিন টাকা তুলেছিলেন বটে কিন্তু কাজ কিছু করতে পারেননি যদি কাজ করতে, তাহলে বহু লোকের তার ট্রাটি-বিচ্যুতি দেখাতো। আজ তার কাজ হয়েছে এখানে এটা হয় নাই, ওখানে ওটা ঝড়ে উড়ে গেছে এইসব ঝং দেখিয়ে বেড়ানো। এই বলে আমি এই “বাজেট সাপোর্ট” করছি।

[11-25—11-30 a.m.]

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:**

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have just now listened to an impassioned speech from Charu Babu. He has thought it fit to pour on the heads of most of us abuses and ridicule. Before I pass on to the consideration of the

[Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya.]

budget I would seek your permission to reply to his antics. Sir, it has been said that we are destructive. Our reply is that we are destructive where destruction is necessary. When we see that the fair field of Bengal is—

**Mr. Chairman:** Professor Bhattacharyya, I do not think he used the word "destructive" but he said that the Congress was constructive.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** No, Sir. He referred to us as destructive but I may tell him that where constructive criticism is necessary we are constructive. What Mr. Choudhuri has said is really constructive but he failed to understand the importance of the constructive proposals that were put forward by my friend, Mr. Choudhuri.

Coming to the budget, Sir, I see that the principle of supplementary budgeting has been under fire. It has been argued that supplementary budgeting indicates inaccurate budgeting initially but I will come to that point later on. But I feel that in times of emergency supplementary budgeting becomes necessary. The nation again which is seeking to implement the Five-Year Plan will perhaps have to depend upon supplementary budgeting from time to time but in spite of these cogent reasons in favour of supplementary budgeting, supplementary budgeting has become unpopular, not only within the Legislature but also outside. It has been held that the original budget of the Government from year to year has not been really accurate.

[11-30—11-35 a.m.]

This suspicion, Sir, existing in the minds of legislators and people outside, people who know, is not altogether wrong, if we were to refer to the report of the Auditor-General for the two previous years. I will seek your permission to refer to one or two relevant passages from the Auditor's report. Regarding the accuracy of budgeting the distinguished framer of the report

has said this: Voted grant—the Budget estimates of 1949-50—provides a total sum of Rs. 5,073.61 lakhs for voted expenditure against which the actual expenditure was Rs. 4,206.19 lakhs causing a saving of Rs. 1,267.42 lakhs, i.e., 23.2 per cent. of the original grant. Supplementary grants for an aggregate sum of Rs. 369.67 lakhs increased the saving to Rs. 1,637.09 lakhs which was 28 per cent. of the final grant. This, Sir, is not the evidence of accurate budgeting. In the same year so far as charged appropriations were concerned, the Auditor writes as follows: the budget estimate for charged expenditure was Rs. 127.97 lakhs against which the actual expenditure amounted to Rs. 113.96 lakhs, causing a saving of Rs. 14.01 lakhs which comes to 12.3 per cent. of the original appropriation. The supplementary appropriation of Rs. 8.20 lakhs increased the saving to Rs. 22.21 lakhs or 16.3 of the final appropriation. The comments contained in the report of the Auditor for 1950-51 set out on page 9 is equally uncomplimentary to the Finance Minister. Sir, the suspicion that arises in the public mind is due to the fact that the original budgeting has not been accurate. If there is so much of saving why not give, I submit, relief to the tax-payers? This is a view from which the supplementary budget has been considered by the people outside and the legislators.

Sir, I will now come to the consideration of certain other features of the Supplementary Budget. Sir, one of the reasons why this Supplementary Budget is regarded with disfavour is that the Finance Minister did not make any reference to the relevant matters while introducing the Supplementary Budget, which he might have done. For example a provision of Rs. 30 lakhs for Industrial Finance Corporation could not be made in the original budget, because the sanction of the Government of India and of the Reserve Bank of India was received much later. If he had said that loan of Rs. 2 crores in respect of supply of

panures was received from the Government after the budget had been finalised, his case would have been stronger. He does not do so.

11-35—11-40 a.m.]

Possibly he does not care to convince the legislators, relying on the brute majority that he possesses. (Interruption.) The point that I was trying to make out was that he does not make his speech sufficiently explanatory. My suspicion is that he does not care to do so, because he knows that whatever he says will be supported by the subservient majority on the floor of the House.

Sir, I will refer just for a moment to the Jhargram scheme to which my friend Mr. Choudhuri has made a reference. I spent about three weeks in Jhargram during the Puja holidays and I noticed that thirty persons including three women were being trained on the grounds in the premises of the Raj School of Jhargram. I took some pains to get into contact with some of the people who went there to lecture—Mr. Anil Gupta who is supposed to be an authority on Basic Education and Mr. Lalit Banerjee who is an expert in Adult Education. So far as the training scheme was concerned I confess that I was really convinced of the utility of such a scheme of training. I do not know if these people had actually gone to the villages and imparted the knowledge that they had to the villagers. But I can say this that the course of training that they went through was well thought out and well executed. I myself have seen them at drill and I noticed that all of them were very enthusiastic and very keen students. I had also a talk with the project officer of the area and the project officer told me that after the scheme of training was gone through, these people would be sent into the villages. I do not of course know if they have actually gone into the villages to carry their message of hope to the people. Sir, Mr. Choudhuri has said, and I agree with him, that one of the

most important failures of the Government—I call it important because this is responsible to a very large extent for the comparative failure of the Community Development Project—is that Government has not been able to release the moral and active assistance of the people themselves. Sir, our Finance Minister and the Prime Minister of India have at times declared that they are not getting sufficient co-operation from the people. How is it that the people who are endowed with an intelligent sense of self-interest are not being persuaded to take to the Community Development Project? If they take to the Community Development Project with enthusiasm, I have no doubt that our land will be converted into a fairy land in no time. The fact is that they have no confidence in the Government. I would request the Finance Minister and others who have spent many years of their lives in the service of the country, to devote themselves to this particular question to establish mass contact and to harness the enthusiasm of the people in carrying out the Community Development Project.

Sir, I will refer just for a moment to Famine. The history of the activities of this Government is a history of delayed and inadequate action. During the last Budget we from this side of the House tried to impress upon the Finance Minister and the Government in general that the situation in the country was deplorable. But they persisted in denying that there was any distress in the country. Now they have come forward with a grant of Rs. 160 lakhs for Famine. They have come to realise that there is famine. This kind of delayed action does not win the gratitude of the people. But that is only the political part of it. It is a kind of treachery to the people which I hope they will not perpetrate in the future.

Sir, one word about the Employees Medical Insurance Scheme will suffice, because my friend Mr. Choudhuri who has a very keen

[Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya.]

sense of details has discussed this question from different points of view. I would like to draw your attention to the views that have been expressed by the Indian Medical Association, West Bengal Branch, and the 13th Conference of the Indian Medical Association held at Midnapore during the first week of November.

[11-40—11-45 a.m.]

The considered view of the Indian Medical Conference as also of the Indian Medical Association was that the quota of 2,000 patients of employees assigned to a doctor is too large a figure. They have advocated that this figure ought to be reduced to 1,000. This is a matter for specialists, for the medical men. Our Finance Minister is a distinguished medical man and the Deputy Finance Minister has grown grey in the Medical Association itself. So far as I remember, he was present at some of the meetings of the Indian Medical Association at which these questions were discussed. I hope they will get into touch with these distinguished persons, distinguished professional men of the Indian Medical Association and try to come to some kind of settlement so that the Employees' Insurance Scheme for medical relief may be revised. Sir, it is no use giving sub-standard medical assistance to workers. If medical assistance is to come at all it must be of the real kind and must conform to the standards with which the Finance Minister in his own profession was acquainted. It is for this reason that I would particularly appeal to him to apply himself to the examination of the questions that have been raised by the Indian Medical Association. Sir, the last item to which I would like to draw your attention is the question of unemployment. The attention of the Finance Minister and of the Government must have been drawn to the very useful report submitted to the Government by one of the most eminent and ablest of our officers, Mr. A. Mitra, the Census

Superintendent. Sir, his report regarding rural economy touches on the problem of unemployment is very disturbing indeed. Speaking of the rural economy the report of the distinguished official points out that "the rural population of West Bengal can neither hark back to the past nor cheerfully face the future. They are heading towards a serious crisis in production and livelihood." Referring to the urban population the remarks of the Census Superintendent are equally disturbing and nearly un-nerving. Referring to the conditions of the people in urban areas his report says that "the available material confirms the impression that industrialisation has lagged behind growth of urban tracts even in the industrial zone, that agricultural overcrowding and sub-marginal living are both the cause and effect of the quickened pace of urbanisation, that urbanisation is but an ineffectual escape from the starkness of the agricultural scene and that commerce, industry and general services in the town afford little substantial succour to the man who has fled the village." Sir, excuse me for the infliction of the shocking revelation. Mr. A. Mitra writes a "shocking revelation" is that "the proportion of the earners to total population has been declining steadily in agricultural and total livelihoods since 1911. What is more alarming is the almost stationary proportion of the population in non-agricultural livelihoods since 1911 which indicates how the excess population steadily squeezed out in increasing numbers from agriculture remains un-absorbed in non-agricultural livelihoods".

[11-45—11-50 a.m.]

Sir, our Chief Minister and certain others have at times said that the unemployment amongst the Bengalees is largely due to the fact that the Bengalees are averse to manual labour. Mr. A. Mitra gives the lie direct to such a charge laid against young men and women of Bengal. He writes: "it has been argued that the reason why the

Bengalees do not go into industry as mill workers as much as others from other States is their opulence in agriculture which makes them disdain work at the mill. This story of agricultural opulence is largely a myth and, as even a brief account of industries in decayed towns teaches us, Bengalees are not loath to work with their hands at the boiler and furnace. The Bengalee workman is more a precision worker, an artisan, a craftsman, with a sense and gift of individual design, than a mass producer. For these gifts the large industries in the State today do not provide scope by the million but, wherever these skills are called for, Bengalees are offered employment." Further the distinguished writer says: "The crisis in employment is gradually intensifying both in the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. An increasing proportion of the population is being thrown upon the earnings of a decreasing number of earners". Let us look at the offerings of employment in the background of this dismal picture. My information is that many of the speculators of Central Calcutta who have control over industries have started a sort of campaign against Bengalee employees and Bengalee employees are being dismissed from these establishments which have been very largely bought by these speculators from the British imperialists in the past. We know it for a fact that Bengalees have practically no place in the Armed Police of West Bengal. This is a deplorable state of affairs to which I would like to draw the attention of the members of the House. You are aware also that the European firms have been employing to a very larger extent now since the independence European officers. Soon after the independence the tendency was slightly different. They thought that the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal perhaps would take a strong line in the matter and would insist on the larger employment of highly educated young men in officers' posts and they started doing so.

But the slackness of the Government of India and of the Government of West Bengal led to a reversal of that policy and I know it for a fact and the Chief Minister knows it also that many Bengalee officers of European firms have been dismissed or served with notice. This deplorable state of affairs is further heightened by the fact that important people of the Central Cabinet or of the West Bengal Ministry remain satisfied when one of their nominees happens to be appointed by the European firms concerned in the officer's grade and they keep silent. They sometimes raise a question or two but when they would find that their own men are being appointed from time to time they are satisfied. What is necessary is to reverse this policy and see to it that a larger number of Bengalees are appointed in the European firms here as officers. You are aware that Bengalees are being excluded from lucrative appointments in Assam, Bihar and Orissa.

[11-50- 11-55 a.m.]

If in Bengal you do not support the Bengali young men for appointment in the mills as employees or as officers, where are they going to? It is the responsibility of the Government. It is high time that the Chief Minister reverses his policy and refuses to remain satisfied when he finds that one of his favourites has been appointed by a particular firm. I will not take much more of my time but would only say that this unemployment problem is the most serious problem that faces us today. The Chief Minister is afraid of social revolution, but I can tell him that social revolution will come and is bound to come if he does not address himself to this problem.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** I have never said I am afraid of social revolution. Why put in words in my mouth which I never used?

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, I am glad that he belongs to our side and he does not



[Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhatta-charyya.]

want to be with the capitalists. I am glad that he does not care for the support of the vested interest. Now, Sir, this is a matter which has caused a good deal of unpopularity. Government is not liked, because Government is not taking energetic measures towards the solution of the problem of unemployment. It will be seen that some money is allotted for a survey, but possibly it will end there. Possibly the Government will try to develop the integrated policy of agricultural and industrial development. Possibly they will delimit the areas of cottage industry and big industry and possibly they will abandon their apathetic tendency for the development of cottage industry and come forward with State industries.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

On a point of personal explanation, Sir.

আমি বক্তৃতার সময় ভুল করে তাড়াতাড়িতে চিনির দাম ৮/ আনা বলেছিলাম। ঐ দরে আমার বাড়ীতে আনে গোলে আমার ধারণা ছিল ঐ দামেই বিক্রীর জন্য সরকার হুকুম দিয়েছেন। 'সুগার ডিস্ট্রিবিউটার্স' লিমিটেডকে ২৭ টাকা মণ দরে দেওয়া হবে এবং সেকানে ৮১০ আনা মণে বিক্রী করা হবে, ৮/ আনা নয়। অথচ এই চিনি ৮ আনা মণে দরে বিক্রী করবেন বলেছিলেন চিনি ব্যবসায়ী সমিতি। আমি যে ৮/ আনা বলেছি সেটা ৮১০ আনা হবে।

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:** Subsequently the company have informed that they were not in a position to sell sugar at that price. They wanted to put in as. 12 more.

**Sj. Pannalal Saraogi:** The whole quantity is not to be sold at Rs. 27, but only 10,000 tons at Rs. 27 and the further 25,000 tons at Rs. 29-4 and not Rs. 27.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** I have got the correspondence with me.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Sir, I have listened with attention to the speeches of the opposite side and I regret—

(At this stage Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee rose to speak.)

**Mr. Chairman: Mr. Mukherjee,** you want to speak?

**Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee:** Yes, Sir. Sir, I do not rise to beat my trumpet or the trumpet of the organisation to which I have the honour to belong, but I rise to give the opposition its proper dues. Sir, I carefully went through the statement of the Chief Minister when he presented the Supplementary Budget and I have considered very carefully the grants on which he demands these different sums on different items and I do not consider that any of these grants on which he has made these demands are unreasonable or unfair, and in my opinion, they are calculated to develop the wealth of the people of West Bengal.

[11-55—12 noon.]

Sir, as regards the question whether the Supplementary Budget Estimates give an indication of the unsoundness of judgment on the part of the Finance Minister or not, so far as I know as a student of political economy there cannot be any hard and fast principle that Supplementary Budget Estimates are always to be condemned. Supplementary Budget Estimates must be there when the circumstances and the exigencies require it. Therefore, I do not find fault with the Finance Minister for the Supplementary Estimate which he has made and for which he has given sufficient reasons and explanations. From the criticisms of my most esteemed friend Annada Babu, I do not find that he has established that these demands are unnecessary and are not calculated to develop the wellbeing of the people. But his charges are mainly charges of maladministration of the funds at the bottom, that they have not been properly administered. Sir, to give a sanction to a grant is one thing and to look to its proper administration is a different thing. Therefore, I do not find even from the arguments of my friends on this side of the House that we can reasonably oppose the Supplementary Estimates which the Finance Minister has brought before

this House. But I regret that the members on the other side of the House have not the fairness to tell the House that these are the charges which require investigation, and the Minister-in-charge would see to a proper investigation being made of the charges to which my most esteemed friend Annada Babu has referred. That would be a fair approach, in my mind, to the question. Therefore, I would appeal to the members of the other side and also to the Ministers concerned that they will kindly take into consideration the different charges under the different items of grants and see whether these charges are really supported by facts, and when we meet on a subsequent occasion regarding a matter which has bearing upon the questions of finance the House may be enlightened on these points. That is my suggestion to the House.

Sir, as regards the abstract statement showing allotments made to different districts, which was distributed by the Food Minister amongst the members on a previous occasion, I am not competent to say anything about these allotments in other districts, but so far as 24-Parganas is concerned I contacted the officers, from the District Magistrate down to the Relief Officers of the local areas in the Sunderbans. My friend Hriday Babu referred to the fact that Rs. 19 lakhs were granted for embankments and a number of tube-wells were sent over to the Hasnabad area for the purpose of being sunk. I made enquiry with reference to a particular colony, in the jurisdiction of Canning Town police-station, and I was told that the grant which was made with reference to the embankment was like a drop in the ocean. The District Magistrate told me that the people could not expect that, from the small amount that was allotted, the Sunderbans would be kept immune from any inundation of salt water from the river, because it requires more than a crore of rupees to make it perfectly secure from such flood and inundation. With

[12 noon—12-5 p.m.]

regard to the tube-wells they were then on the transit. I am told today that 100 odd have already been sunk and on the transit there are 500 and odd. Sir, they have been suffering for a long time and unless pressure is put upon the Governmental machinery no steps seem to have been taken by the Government. This is a state of affairs which should be altered. My suggestions are these to the Cabinet through you. Then I should say something with regard to my friend S. J. Bhattacharyya's reference to unemployment. Undoubtedly, that is a very serious question to be taken into consideration by our Government and the problem would be more acute as the Chief Minister knows very well when all rent receivers of the villages would be debarred from receiving any rent from their land. Unemployment in the town as well as in the villages would be very acute and the Chief Minister would kindly take that fact into consideration. Cottage industry, community project and industrialisation should be taken in hand to cope with the problem; they should also see that the allotments or distributions of the funds which are available to the Government are substantial. I find except columns 1 and 11 the remaining 9 columns are distribution columns. My suggestion to the Chief Minister through you, Sir, is that instead of distributing over all the 9 different items, Government should give a substantial amount on a particular item so that some substantial relief is given to the people. If it is scattered here and there it does not improve the situation at all. Instead of distributing over several items if it is possible to give a substantial amount on such important figures as gratuitous relief or say agricultural loan the people may get real benefit. I have made contact with some of the people coming from the Sunderbans. Some of them are still living on the footpaths at Raja Dinendra Street near about my house. They say that the few people to whom such gratuitous

[Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee.]

relief has been granted was so meagre that the majority of the people could not settle in their villages and they are still roaming about in different parts of West Bengal. The relief that has been granted is too inadequate for the huge problem with which Government have to deal. That is also a point to which I want to draw the attention of the Chief Minister and also the Food Minister. Sir, these are all that I want to say about Grants.

[12.5—12.10 p.m.]

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:**

I am thankful, Sir, to my friend, Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee for having taken a more realistic view of the supplementary estimates presented to this House than my other friends in the opposition. When I was listening to the speeches of my friends in the opposition it seemed to me that their statements were based either upon ignorance or upon suspicion—ignorance of the system which has prevailed whenever supplementary estimates are given. My friend, Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri is an ex-Finance Minister and should have known that the word “contingency” used in the budget where the question of supply of chemical fertilisers is mentioned, namely, 198 lakhs, the word “contingency” is used according to the direction of the Auditor-General whenever there is no definite item of expenditure and whenever there is a temporary allocation of funds for a particular department. I am surprised to find that Annada Babu did not know that. The whole amount of Rs. 198 lakhs represents the loan given by the Central Government for the purchase and sale of manures.

My friend Mr. Charu Chandra Sanyal looks pontifical and wants to criticise on certain bases. But probably he does not know the system at all of putting particular items in the budget. He said, “the appropriation under the contingency fund is fifty lakhs and I

would like to know what are the funds put under the contingency fund”. It is a fund to be kept apart for meeting future expenditure. Fifty lakhs provided in the budget having been spent we wanted to increase it to one crore. But since the budget which has now been presented has been passed by the Lower House and the Appropriation Bill has also been passed, the items which were put in the contingency fund will now be debited to different funds. This is a simple proposition and everybody who has to deal with the budget knows it. The question that has been put is, is it proper to have a supplementary estimate? My friend Mr. Nirmal Bhattacharyya even goes so far as to say that supplementary estimates are very unpopular. I do not know that. He did not mention who are the people amongst whom it is unpopular.

Coming to Land Revenue you will find that the amount is Rs. 14,60,000 and if you look at the item you will find that it is for the survey and settlement operations. When we prepared the budget last year in November or December last there was not even the draft Bill before us as to how the estates acquisition operation will be formulated and placed before the Legislature. Therefore it was not possible to forecast as to what the amount will be. It was only in July or August last that we could estimate roughly what the cost might be and the preliminary cost is laid down here.

[12.10—12.15 p.m.]

It is for making preparation for the purpose of implementing the Estates Acquisition Bill when it is passed into an Act. It is a very small sum and we may have to spend more before we get the record-of-rights properly revised.

Then the item under “Medical”. Taking advantage of this item, my friends have made various comments as to what happened in Nilratan Sircar Medical College and all that, why certain things had not been done properly, why some doctors did not attend, etc. But, Sir, this

is not what is expected in the discussion of a Supplementary Budget. As a matter of fact, this very item under the head "Medical" is for the purpose of re-transferring or adjusting certain items which were put under one head in 1947-48 and 1948-49. We wanted to put the amount under proper head. There is no question of extra expenditure. It is only a question of transfer. There was a good deal of correspondence between the Central Medical Stores and the Nilratan Sircar Medical College till June or July last, and we put that in this supplementary budget.

I am replying one by one to all the points raised. With regard to the question of Rs. 20 lakhs, this is for the sinking of tube-wells. It has been settled that the Centre will pay Rs. 20 lakhs and we will pay Rs. 20 lakhs for tube-wells in the Sundarbans. A scheme was put before the Government of India in August 1952 and they took nearly a year before they came to a conclusion. Therefore this item could not be foreseen in January or February, as we got the reply in June or July, this year.

With regard to grant under the head "Agriculture", I have already mentioned that Rs. 1,98,00,000 was given by the Government only recently in the form of loan to the agriculturists and every pie of it, and not as Sj. Charu Chandra Sanyal says, 10 per cent. would be recovered not in the form of cash but in kind, so much paddy to be given for the amount of fertilizer that has been given to them.

With regard to the item under "Industrial Development outside the Revenue Account", I have already mentioned before and I repeat again that a scheme has been finalised after consultation with the Reserve Bank and the Government of India's sanction was obtained only in September last and therefore we could not possibly put it in last year's estimate.

With respect to "Famine", a lot has been said about it as to whether we could foresee the famine,

whether we could not foresee a flood and as if the Opposition has always been wiser and we on this side all fools as we could not foresee these things. Without going into the whole of it, I may say that we did more than any other country in respect to floods and famine. We are not gifted persons like the Opposition to be able to foresee when there will be floods; sometimes they give wrong information and sometimes they say things which do not happen and when they happen they say "Did't we tell this?" But that there will be floods every year in Midnapore and Nadia does not require a brilliant man to say. But, Sir, they may say, when accidentally it comes to be true, that they told Government of this. But in January or February it is difficult to foresee whether there will be floods in any particular area and provide in the budget money for the same. So, Sir, they are gifted persons, I bow down to them and I take my hats off to them.

[12-15—12-20 p.m.]

We try and plod along and carry on as best as we can. When framing the estimates there was a minus balance of Rs. 6 crores. Supposing in that period we had put down another crore, it would have meant minus  $7\frac{1}{2}$  crores. That would not have given us any more money by simply putting it in the budget, but what we do is, when we find there is urgency for a particular expenditure, we try and curtail those items of expenditure which can be avoided and meet the emergency expenditure as best as we can.

Sir, with regard to the contingency fund, I have already explained. With regard to the floating debt of 8 crores, this is a charged item, as you will see. I have already explained before that in other years we used to put in 2 crores under this head. It is a question of ways and means advance with the Imperial Bank. They give us credit for 5 crores at one particular time. But sometimes we take the money, we pay back, and

[The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy.]

then we take the money and again we pay back. Before we can realise the money and pay back from our own funds—taking money from the Imperial Bank means paying them interest. But because of our commitments regarding Development Projects and our balances having been less, we had to put in an extra quantity under the head Floating Debt. I can tell you that every rupee of that 8 crores has already been recovered. There is no question of asking for any sanction for payment of 8 crores—8 crores have been recovered.

With regard to this question of State Trading of Re. 1, my friend S. J. Charu Sanyal thought that we were foolish not to have put down at least Rs. 10,000. Sir, it is not so bad as he thinks. Let me explain to him that, if, before he makes his criticisms, he comes over for five minutes, we would be able to explain things that he does not know. Rupee 1 is only a token grant and there must be an item in our budget through which we may take on a particular job. Rupees 13 lakhs had been taken as a loan for the supply of gram, but there must be an insertion in the budget. This must be a token sum and it has nothing to do with expenditure. With regard to Loans and Advances bearing interest, there have been statements made. Sir, Dr. Chakravarty has said that the cost of distribution of fertiliser has gone up by nearly 200 per cent. In 1952-53 there were about 48,000 tons of ammonium sulphate, super phosphate, etc. But this year we have had ammonium sulphate in larger quantity—about 50,000 tons were given by the Sindri Factory—and we have distributed it. It is not a fact that we have distributed this through one firm—somebody said it. It has been distributed by three firms—Phosphate (India), Ltd., Asoka Trading, and Talukdar and Co.

Mr. Mohitosh Rai Chaudhuri raised the question regarding the cattle and said that people were

prepared to take the cows to Harin-ghatta. The scheme is entirely different. The scheme is that they will be given the land and the building to take their animals, and every drop of milk that they produce will be purchased by us and distributed through our agency, so that there is no question of anybody not being able to sell his milk if the cows are taken over there.

Sir, I would reply Mr. Abdul Halim's queries by saying that the crop loan in 1952-53 had been Rs. 7.5 lakhs; cattle purchase loan Rs. 22 lakhs; and agricultural loan up to 21st of August, 1953, Rs. 47 lakhs.

[12-20—12-25 p.m.]

I find that my friend S. J. Annada Choudhuri's whole world is the police-station known as Chandrakona. My old grand-mother used to say that the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa formed the whole of India. This can be equally applied to S. J. Annada Choudhuri. If there is any defect it must be within the Chandrakona police-station; if there is any good thing it must be in Chandrakona. He said that although he has been charged extra he did not get any land for tank irrigation. My friend S. J. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri has explained the reason. This is a question of administration. Then he talked about Jhargram centre. I do not know whether he talked from personal experience or from the paper that he brought here and was reading out. Sir, it is true that there are persons who are connected with Hindu Mission who have been taken into the community project. The community project itself is based upon co-operation amongst all persons who are doing work in a particular centre. S. J. Annada Choudhuri hangs down his head in shame because Rs. 13 lakhs which was collected by him for this particular purpose was not accepted by Government and nothing has been done. I may give him the information that 20 times more than the amount mentioned by him has already been

spent for establishment of community project centres during the last three years. He did not hang down his head in shame when he confessed that he could not draw any money for the local works project for which we asked loans from villagers. We wanted 17.4 lakhs which was the equal amount given by the Government of India for doing small bits of work in different village areas. We received over 23.6 lakhs from the village areas. Therefore, there is no lack of enthusiasm on the part of the villagers. Sir, in our scheme for State Employees Insurance Rs. 2 have been provided for medicine. On theoretical grounds Sj. Annada Choudhury and Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri have raised objection as regards the inadequacy of the amount but upon the experience that has been gathered from Delhi and Kanpore where they have worked the scheme for nearly two years we have provided Rs. 2 but there is nothing to prevent us going higher. If our experience shows that Rs. 2 is not enough we can possibly go beyond the rate fixed in other provinces. Sir, Sj. Annada Choudhuri said something about different rates of transport charges of food materials to be paid to different organisations who were doing relief work in the Sundarbans. For his information I say that no money has been paid up till now and the different organisations will be paid according to a standard rate and there will be no discrimination. I wish before a member of the House makes a statement he must be sure that the statement is not based on wrong assumptions. Sir, as regards the question of survey of unemployment, Sir, it is perfectly clear and who does not know that there is unemployment in this province and nobody is more keen about the difficulties than myself so far as the question of unemployment is concerned. Somebody suggested what was the need of statistics. My answer to this is that we must know what the difficulties are, how many people are unemployed and where they can be fitted in. What is the type of

[12-25—12-30 p.m.]

industry in which they can be trained? All these matters require very careful enquiry and all such enquiries are being conducted today through the Statistical Department. Somebody gave us some figures that in a particular village it was said that so many were unemployed and so many are actually employed. Naturally when we make a sample survey there may not be a detailed survey of every individual village in Bengal. My friend Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya waxed eloquent about the report of the Census Officer and he calls him a most brilliant officer because it suits him to quote the remarks of Mr. Mitter. If he had read the whole of it before he would have had a different story to tell. There is no doubt whatsoever that in this Province more than in any other Province our land revenue system has obsessed the attention of most of our middleclass people so long. We were under the influence of a soporific hypnotic. And we have to rise up and in this Province we are now rising up. It is necessary for us to understand what is what. Who denies that there is unemployment in this Province? Who denies that our people will be able to get over this unemployment only if they take to small and cottage industries? I think he made a mistake by saying, and I do not know whether Mr. Mitter has said that, that our young men are able to do hard manual work. What Mr. Mitter has said is that for expert and skilful work which is a particular type of artisan work our men are not only capable but also brilliant. But give him heavy manual work, give him a heavy load to carry from one place to another, our men are not yet accustomed to do it but I dare say that they will soon take to it. I will give you one example. For the last four or five months I have put in 50 young men who have been in the University or in the senior classes in the college to work as mazdoors under one of the big contractors who had a contract with us and these fifty men have

[The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy.]

been working for the last four or five months and the report about them is most encouraging. Therefore I say that though our men have been somewhat reluctant to undertake any heavy manual work so long, they will soon be accustomed to it provided we put them in the proper way.

I do not think there is any other criticism which has been made and which I need answer. All I say is that these supplementary estimates were necessary, as Mr. Debendranath Mukherjee has said, for the relief of the distress of the people, some of them directly and some indirectly but they are all for one and the same purpose, namely, how to relieve the condition of the people of this Province and to bring this State as soon as possible to the position of a welfare State.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, the Finance Minister has said that I referred to transport charges. I did not.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** No, no, you did not. I am sorry if you have thought so.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** I never mentioned it.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** You have said that the supplementary estimates were not necessary at all and that they were unpopular.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** I have said that some people think that it is very unpopular. What I said was that the Chief Minister in his speech could not justify some of the items in the supplementary estimates.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** I am sorry I have to contradict Sj. Nirmal Bhattacharyya. I have taken down his words that supplementary estimates are unpopular.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** I have also indicated why they are unpopular and one of the causes.....

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** May be.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:**.....and one of the causes is that he failed to justify it in the budget speech.

**Mr. Chairman:** Discussion on the supplementary estimates is now over. We may now pass on to the next item but as all the provisions have been covered in the course of the discussion on the supplementary estimates, there will be no discussion.

[12-30—12-32 p.m.]

### GOVERNMENT BILL.

#### The West Bengal Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1953.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly and transmitted to the West Bengal Legislative Council for its recommendations, be taken into consideration and passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

**Mr. Chairman:** As there is no other business today, I adjourn the House till 9-30 a.m. on Thursday, the 26th November, 1953.

#### Adjournment.

The Council was then adjourned at 12-32 till 9-30 a.m. on Thursday, the 26th November, 1953, at the Legislative Buildings, Calcutta.

#### Members absent.

Bhattacharjee, Sj. Durga Kinkar,  
Chatterjea, Sj. Devaprasad,  
Majumdar, Sj. Sudhirendra Nath,  
Sarkar, Sj. Parnabeswar.  
Sen, Sj. Debendra.

## COUNCIL DEBATES

Thursday, the 26th November, 1953.

THE COUNCIL met in the Legislative Chamber of the Legislative Buildings, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 26th November, 1953, at 9-30 a.m., being the 5th day of the Third Session, under the Constitution of India.

Mr. Chairman (the Hon'ble Dr. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJ) was in the Chair.

[9-30—9-35 a.m.]

## QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

**Enquiry into police firing at Deulti railway station.**

6. (SHORT NOTICE.) **Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Home (Police) Department be pleased to state if it is a fact—

- (i) that in the morning of the 20th September, 1953, police opened fire at Deulti railway station (30 miles away from Howrah), police-station Bagnan;
- (ii) that one Annada Dolui was killed thereby; and
- (iii) that a departmental enquiry was held in the matter?

(b) If the answer to (a) be in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

- (i) whether police was authorised to obstruct *bona fide* passengers at Deulti station;

(ii) what were the findings of the enquiry; and

(iii) whether Government consider the desirability of holding a judicial enquiry immediately into the said police firing at Deulti?

**Minister-in-charge of the Home (Police) Department (Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy):** (a) Yes.

(b)(i) No.

(ii) The enquiring Magistrate has held the firing to be justified.

(iii) No, in view of the fact that a criminal case has been instituted by the police and a judicial decision is awaited thereto.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** With regard to answer (b)(ii), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the basis of the findings? Was it the evidence of the enquiry?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Sir, on the 28th of September, 1953, a Food Rally was organised by all the Leftist parties with the object of violating section 144 in the Dalhousie Square. Sir, since questions have been raised as to whether the rally meant to violate section 144, for which a call had been given, I have here the cuttings of "Swadhinata" and the cuttings of "Lok Sevak," dated 23rd September and 28th September, in which it is stated that various leaders of parties have issued a call—

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, on a point of order. Is the Hon'ble Minister in order to refer to newspaper reports?

**Mr. Chairman:** I think he is in order.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** There was a call to violate



[The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy.]

section 144. There was a call from the Leftist parties

“বাঙ্গালার দাবীতে রাইটার্স বিল্ডিং ঘেরাও করুন।”

This is all that I wanted to refer to in this connection. To make this demonstration ineffective orders were issued to all suburban Thana Officers to see that no unlawful assembly or procession could proceed to Calcutta. Sub-Inspector Chittaranjan Das of Bagnan police-station with 2 Head Constables and 20 Constables was on Deulti station on the 28th September, the date on which it was claimed that the Secretariat would be encircled, with a view to prevent the persons travelling to Calcutta by rail, particularly travelling without ticket. The force was armed with *lathis* only. The Sub-Inspector himself had a Government revolver with 24 cartridges. The Sub-Inspector and his party confronted a section of about 500 near Deulti railway station who were shouting slogans like the following: “Surround the Writers’ Buildings”, “Police *zoolum* will not do”, etc., which clearly indicated that they were proceeding to Calcutta to join the declared Food Rally. In the meantime they were joined by a procession of equal strength which was also shouting slogans. The Police party at first asked the mob not to proceed to Calcutta for unlawful purposes, but they not only paid no heed to their words but also started pelting stones at the Police party injuring a number of them. The Sub-Inspector of Police received a bleeding injury, which was declared to be of a grievous type, on his nose and several contusions and lacerated wounds. Several other constables also received serious injuries. When thus overpowered the Sub-Inspector after due warning fired nine rounds with his revolver in self-defence.

[9-35—9-40 a.m.]

As a consequence one Annada Dalui was killed on the spot. An execu-

tive enquiry was held by the Sub-divisional Officer and the report has been received from the District Magistrate who found the firing justified. The Commissioner has also agreed with the finding. With regard to the question under (b)(i) under section 23 of the Police Act and section 149 of the Criminal Procedure Code police officers are given wide powers for the purpose of preventing commission of any offence. In this case the processionists avowedly decided to come to Calcutta for the purpose of violating section 144 which was in force round the Dalhousie Square area. The police party, therefore, had to prevent them from coming or committing the offence. The police have instituted a criminal case against a number of demonstrators and charge-sheets have been submitted against 41 persons for offences under section 149 of the Indian Penal Code for rioting, grievous hurt and resistance to public servants on duty and assault on them. In this trial there will be a judicial decision regarding the whole incident. No further judicial enquiry is needed.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Is the Chief Minister aware that in the enquiry conducted by the Subdivisional Officer the police witnesses included some persons who were bad characters and notorious men and who were previously convicted for dacoity and were under an obligation to the police? Is he also aware that the police could not find any witnesses from the local public and one or two persons who came to give evidence to the police were from distant area such as Bagnan?

**Mr. Chairman:** The subject-matter of the question is *sub judice*. I cannot allow you to discuss it in this House.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Sir, I wanted to clarify one point that the witnesses who gave evidence before the police—

**Mr. Chairman:** The whole thing is before a court of law. It will not

be proper for the House to enter into a discussion on a matter which is *sub judice*.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Sir, the basis of the findings apparently is the evidence of police witnesses—

**Mr. Chairman:** That is for the properly constituted court to decide.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Sir, my question is with regard to the firing—whether it was justified or not and therefore I am trying to draw the attention of the Chief Minister to the fact that the evidence—

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is before the court.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Sir, the police case against the persons is before the court. I am referring to the fact of firing. My question is perfectly in order for it relates to facts in connexion with the firing incident which has been found justified by the examining Magistrate and the District Magistrate.

**Mr. Chairman:** I think since the whole matter is before the court, there is no point in anticipating the decision of the court. I say it is not in order to discuss a matter which is *sub judice*.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** I am not referring to the persons against whom the police have instituted a case but I am referring to the firing incident which has been found justified by police enquiry. I am referring to the basis of the enquiry that is to say the evidence adduced.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** I am not going to say anything more on this.

**Mr. Chairman:** The whole issue is before a court of law and I do not think it would be in order to discuss it in the House.

### Percentage of Bengali-speaking population in certain districts of Bihar, West Bengal and Assam.

**8. Sj. Charu Chandra Sanyal:** Will the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Home (Constitution and Elections) Department be pleased to state the percentage of Bengali-speaking population to total population as per preliminary census of 1951 compared to such figures in 1931 and 1941 censuses in each thana of the following districts:—

(a) in Bihar State: districts of (1) Manbhum, (2) Singhbhum, (3) Santhal Parganas, and (4) Purnea;

(b) in the West Bengal State: districts of (1) Darjeeling, (2) Jalpaiguri, and (3) Malda; and

(c) in the Assam State: district of Goalpara?

[9-40—9-45 a.m.]

**Minister-in-charge of the Home (Constitution and Elections) Department (Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy):** A statement is laid on the Table.

In the statement there is a wrong printing under the head "1941—Bengal-speaking persons". The words "Figures not available" relate to the sub-head "Bengali-speaking persons" and not to the sub-head "total population".

Statement referred to in reply to question No. 8 showing Bengali-speaking persons with percentage by districts and tracts.

Name of State.	District and tract (with description).	1951.			1941.			1931.		
		Total population.	Bengali-speaking persons.	Percent- age.	Total population.	Bengali-speaking persons.	Percent- age.	Total population.	Bengali-speaking persons.	Percent- age.
<b>Bihar</b>	Manbhum district*	2,279,259	991,126	43.5		Figures not available.		**1,810,890	1,222,689	67.5
	(i) Purulia district*	1,547,559	805,063	52.0		....		..	..	..
	(ii) Dhanbad district*	731,700	186,063	25.4		....		..	..	..
	Singbhum district	1,480,816	268,785	18.2		Figures not available.		**929,802	147,517	15.9
	Santhal Parganas district	2,322,092	211,451	9.1		Ditto.		**2,051,472	252,203	12.3
<b>West Bengal</b>	Purnea district	2,525,231	133,399	5.3		Ditto.		**2,186,543	147,299	6.7
	Malda district	937,580	827,809	88.3		Ditto.		***1,053,766	773,094	73.4
	Rural-79 Englishbazar police-station. Manikchak police-station.	140,796	135,642	95.3						
	Rural-80 Kaliachak police-station.	266,184	224,783	99.4						
	Rural-81 Ratua police-station. Kharba police-station. Harishchandrapur police-station.	317,488	304,932	96.0						

Rural-82 .. Malda police-station. Habibpur police-station. Bamangola police-station. Gazole police-station.	217,951	132,202	60 7			
Urban-38 .. Englishbazar town. Old Malda town.	35,161	30,250	86 0			
Jalpaiguri district ..	914,538	522,891	57 2	Figures not available.	***983,357	638,658
Rural-87 .. Jalpaiguri police-station. Rajganj police-station.	125,923	111,379	88 5			
Rural-88 .. Moxnaguri police-station. Dhupguri police-station.	199,225	138,381	69 4			
Rural-89 .. Nagrakata police-station. Mal police-station. Matiali police-station.	179,735	56,765	31 6			
Rural-90 .. Alipur-Duars police-station. Kumarganj police-station.	142,715	74,914	52 5			
Rural-91 .. Madarihata police-station. Thalakata police-station. Kalchini police-station.	200,795	88,891	44 3			
Urban-35 .. Jalpaiguri town. Alipur-Duars town.	66,145	52,661	79 6			

Name of State.	District and tract (with description).	1951.			1941.			1931.		
		Total population.	Bengali-speaking persons.	Percent-age.	Total population.	Bengali-speaking persons.	Percent-age.	Total population.	Bengali-speaking persons.	Percent-age.
	Darjeeling district	445,260	64,446	14.5				**319,635	37,444	11.7
	Rural-92	136,026	262	0.2						
	Darjeeling police-station.									
	Jorebunglow police-station.									
	Phulbazar police-station.									
	Sukhiapokri police-station.									
	Ranglikot police-station.									
	Rural-93	53,994	978	1.8						
	Kurseong police-station.									
	Mirik police-station.									
	Rural-94	83,995	39,450	47.0						
	Siliguri police-station.									
	Khoribari police-station.									
	Phansidewa police-station.									
	Rural-5	76,764	448	0.6						
	Kalimpong police-station.									
	Gorabathan police-station.									
	Urban-37	62,001	4,685	7.6						
	Darjeeling town.									
	Kurseong town.									
	Kalimpong town.									
	Urban-38	32,480	18,623	57.3						
	Siliguri town.									
Assam	Goalpara district	1,108,124	193,366	17.45				**882,748	476,433	54.0

\*Purulia and Dhanbad are separate districts in 1951 before which they formed the district of Manbhum.

\*\*Separate figures for police-stations are not available.

\*\*\*Figures of undivided districts. Separate figures for police-stations are not available.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** With reference to his reply to question No. 8 will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how far West Bengal is likely to benefit by the redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis, if that is given effect to?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** That is a matter of opinion.

**Mr. Chairman:** That is a very broad question and I do not think it arises out of this question.

### MESSAGE.

**Secretary to the Council (Sj. A. R. Mukherjea):** The following Message has been received from the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, namely:—

#### "Message.

The West Bengal Estates Acquisition Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 25th November, 1953, has been duly signed by me and is annexed herewith. The concurrence of the West Bengal Legislative Council to the Bill is requested.

S. K. MUKHERJEA,

*Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly."*

Sir, I lay on the table a copy of the Bill.

#### **Time-limit for sending amendments to the West Bengal Estates Acquisition Bill, 1953.**

**Mr. Chairman:** Honourable members, copies of the West Bengal Estates Acquisition Bill, 1953, as passed by the Assembly, on the 25th November, 1953, are now in your hands. The Hon'ble Minister has given notice for the consideration of the Bill as well as its passing by the Council. The Government has fixed the 30th of November as the date when the motion will be considered. I would therefore

request you to send in your amendments to the Secretary up to 5 p.m. on Sunday, the 29th November, 1953.

#### **Laying of amendment to Public Service Commission Regulations.**

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Sir, I beg to lay before the Council the amendment to Regulation No. 50A of the Public Service Commission Regulations, 1937, clause 5 of Article 320 of the Constitution of India.

### Non-official Resolutions.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, the resolution which I have the honour of placing before you runs as follows:—

This Council is of opinion that in the interest of historical research Government of West Bengal should cause the removal of the old non-current district records to Calcutta and suitably accommodate them in an office to be called the West Bengal Government Central Record Office together with the documents in the existing West Bengal Secretariat Record Office in such a way so that such records may be made easily available to scholars and others interested in them and that Government of West Bengal should also move the proper authorities to secure the removal of the old non-current records in the custody of the High Court of Calcutta to the proposed West Bengal Government Central Record Office so as to facilitate their proper preservation and utilisation.

Sir, the resolution that I am placing before you is of a non-controversial character. It is really of cultural significance, and I feel that as one of the leaders of Bengal culture you will in the first place bless the resolution which I have the honour of placing before you. In the resolution I have made three suggestions. My first suggestion is that the non-current district records should be centralised. You are

[Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhatta-charyya.]

aware that our records are of two kinds. There are some that are of current importance and are necessary for current administrative purposes. There are others again which are old and of historical importance only. They are classified as non-current records. My first suggestion is that these non-current records of districts should be removed to Calcutta so that they may be available to scholars and for the purpose of making proper arrangements for their preservation.

[9-45—9-50 a.m.]

Sir, if they are centralised in Calcutta, then the scholars who are in Calcutta, and most of the historical scholars of Bengal are centered in Calcutta, will be able to make use of them. It is needless to point out that these non-current records are of great historical importance. You are aware that the records of the latter part of the 18th century, for example, throw a flood of light upon the economic and social condition of Bengal. I will take just one instance. We are aware of the great famine of 1176 A.D., but yet a connected history of that great famine has not been written. It is necessary that the district records should be here in Calcutta so that the historians may utilise them for writing the history of that great disaster which carried off nearly one-third of the population of Bengal. Sir, I have just taken one instance and there are other matters of equal or of greater importance which really are awaiting the attention of the future historians. In order to facilitate the work of the historians it is necessary that the records should be centered in Calcutta.

Secondly, Sir, I have proposed that adequate arrangements should be made for the preservation of these records. It is not possible to treat these records which are very old chemically if they are distributed over a number of centres, but if they are in Calcutta, they will be treated chemically and by some kinds of central heating or air-conditioning it may be possible to

preserve them for the use of future historians of West Bengal. Sir, in the present Secretariat there are about 11,000 bound volumes and almost an equal number of bundles of equal historical importance. In the districts also there are valuable treasures in Midnapore. My information is that the number of bound volumes goes up to 2,000, and there are also some bundles of historical importance. It is necessary that these records should be utilised by our scholars and those administrators who need them. I have also proposed that it is necessary that the Government of West Bengal should approach the proper authorities for the purpose of removal of the records in the custody of the High Court to the Central Records Office to be constituted with the Secretariat Record Office as its nucleus. The present Government of West Bengal constituted some time ago a Regional Record Survey Committee. This Committee approached the Hon'ble High Court so that a team of scholars might utilise it. Replying to the letter of the West Bengal Regional Committee the Hon'ble High Court wrote to say that it was not considered safe and expedient to accede to the request. The proposal was that the representatives of the Committee appointed by the Government itself should go and examine the records. Then the Secretary wrote back to say that he would be grateful if the High Court permitted him and an assistant to come and examine the records and to this also the reply was in the negative. The High Court wrote back to say that no assistant can be allowed and no inspection can be arranged and that for shortage of staff no assistant can be spared. This attitude is very unhelpful.

[9-50—9-55 a.m.]

My suggestion, therefore, with regard to High Court records is that the West Bengal Government should move the proper authorities so that these records might be removed to the Central Records Office to be constituted by the

Government. The records that I am referring to are the High Court records and records of the Sadar Dewani Adalat and Sadar Nizamat Adalat; they are records of historical importance, and they are in a deplorable state of preservation in the High Court. It is desirable that in the interest of historical research these records should be removed to a place where arrangements may be made for their preservation. Sir, that is the simple proposition that I have to place before you. I may inform those members of the House who are not aware of it that under the pre-Independence Development Plan, the construction of a Central Records Office was contemplated, but it was given a low priority. It is necessary that after Independence we should be a little more careful about our past than our British masters used to be. I may rely on the interest of the Chief Minister in the past history of our country and in the preservation of our records, and I hope that he will lend his weighty support to the proposition that I have placed before the House. It is by no means a controversial resolution, it is a resolution which affects the culture of the people, it is a resolution which, if carried, might result in the throwing of a flood of light upon the social and economic history of West Bengal.

With these words, Sir, I beg to move the resolution that is before the House and I hope that it will receive unanimous support.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra**

**Roy:** Sir, I entirely agree with the objective of this resolution. It has been a matter of great concern that the records that we have in the Secretariat, we have not been able to put in a proper place for them to be utilised by proper scholars, and we have not been able even to classify them in a proper order. The real difficulty with the Government has been that we are in want of accommodation. It is obvious that the primary object of the collection of records will be for the use of those students who want to enquire into the past history of this

province and also 'bring forward matters regarding the social and economic condition of the people during the last two centuries or so, as Professor Bhattacharyya has just referred. I naturally thought of the National Library which has been established at Belvedere. It is obvious that if the records of the Bengal Government or of the High Court are to be properly utilised, it is necessary that they should be kept in a proper place and supervised, and also arrangement should be made for the scholars to go there and study them. Sir, it is not merely the scholars that need these records. Very often we have to refer to these records because administrative problems come up and precedents have to be dug up. Sir, there were a large number of records which have been taken away by the Pakistan Government at the time of partition. We have up till now been negotiating with them, and we are perhaps getting nearer a solution of this problem in that we shall have to take photostat copies of the records which they have taken away and which naturally they do not want to part with.

[9.55—10 a.m.]

There is also a large amount of historical records in the Nawab of Murshidabad's palace. I have approached the Nawab for handing over those records so that they can be kept in order under proper control and supervision. I am still engaged in correspondence with the Central Government whether they will not give us a portion of the ground close to Belvedere in which we can build up a proper library for the purpose of storing these records. I have hopes that possibly we might get a portion of that land where we can build up. At the present moment we have not got enough space to locate our own offices let alone to keep the records in proper form and also arrange for the utilisation of these records by scholars. This matter has been under consideration of the Government. I am glad that Professor Bhattacharyya has brought the matter to a head by putting a formal resolution. We



[The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy.] — teachers working in non-Government institutions have discharged their duty to the best of their ability.

shall certainly do our best that the records are kept in order and for purposes mentioned in his resolution.

[10—10.5 a.m.]

**Mr. Chairman:** In view of the assurance given by the Chief Minister I think Professor Bhattacharyya will not press his motion.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, as the Chief Minister has accepted it I will not press the motion.

Sir, the resolution that stands in my name runs as follows: "The Council is of opinion that the recommendations of the Board of Secondary Education regarding the pay-scale and dearness allowance of the teachers of Secondary Schools recognised by the Board should be implemented in the Budget for 1954-55."

Sir, the resolution is a controversial question but today I am not bringing it up as a controversial proposition. I have stood here, Sir, to appeal to the House and to appeal, particularly, to the Education Minister and the Chief Minister of West Bengal to look at it from the point of view of educational statesmanship. I have no desire to rake up the past. There have been unpleasant incidents and there have been sharp difference of opinion between the Government on the one side and Opposition on the other. Today I am placing before you, Sir, a problem which is of exceptional importance—a problem upon which the future educational progress and culture of Bengal very largely depends. I would appeal to the House, Sir, to look at this question from this angle and not to convert it into a controversial problem of the market place. Sir, the lot of the non-Government Secondary School teachers has been a very hard one for a long time. I may say that suffering has been a badge of their tribe and you will possibly agree with me that in spite of the suffering that has been their lot for well over 50 years the Secondary School

Sir, this is a problem to which a very pointed reference was made by the Director of Public Instruction in his eighth quinquennial review on the progress of education in Bengal. The quinquennial review refers to the years 1927—1932. The problem of salary of Secondary School teachers remains very much the same. In my opinion it has worsened since that time and no solution has been supplied by any Government up till now. This is a problem which is becoming acute and I hope the Education Minister and the Chief Minister will take to it in right earnest now. Sir, I was referring to the eighth quinquennial review on the progress of education in Bengal. The Director of Public Instruction in his report says that another reason for the inefficient quality of the teaching is that the profession does not attract the best type of men. The average salary of a high school teacher has increased only from Rs. 55-4-0 in 1926-27 to Rs. 55-8-0 in 1931-32. Sir, let me explain that this average is calculated after taking into consideration the salaries that were received by Government school teachers and the salaries that were received by non-Government school teachers. So if the non-Government school teachers' salaries were alone to be considered, it would certainly be much below the average of Rs. 55-8-0 in 1932.

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:** What is the present rate?

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** I am coming to that later on. The average salaries offered by aided and non-aided schools were very much lower. The pay was insufficient to attract good men and to put them above the constant anxiety of want. The prospect again was slow and remote and nothing could be imagined to be more damping to youthful ardour. That was the picture given in 1932.

Then the war came and the prices of foodstuffs and other necessities went up by 400 per cent., but the salary remained where it was before. The League Government took pity on the teachers and gave them a dearness allowance of Rs. 5 per month. This dearness allowance has been sought to be increased by the organised efforts of non-Government Secondary School teachers but their efforts were not successful. Only last year a grudging concession was made by the present Government and that grudging concession to which I shall come later on does not really solve the problem.

Going back to the question of salary you are aware, Sir, that the present salary of a junior teacher in a Secondary School is Rs. 50 and a senior teacher gets about Rs. 75. This may be compared to the salary scales that prevail in some of the other Provinces or States in the Indian Union. Those who have passed the B.A. and B.T. examinations in Orissa are given a salary scale running from Rs. 100 to Rs. 210; in East Punjab the salary scale runs from Rs. 150 to Rs. 220; in the Uttar Pradesh it runs from Rs. 120 to Rs. 200—

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Do you mean in private schools or in Government schools?

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** I am taking the average on the whole.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Is it the pay-scale of Government school teachers or of private school teachers? I think it concerns Government schools only.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** No. A uniform scale is maintained both for Government and non-Government schools.

[10-5—10-10 a.m.]

In Hyderabad, Rs. 180—325 and Rs. 325—400; West Bengal, Rs. 75—150. That is the recommendation of the Board of Secondary Education. Sir, the percentage of expenditure on education by different States as per budget of 1953-54 is not very complimentary

to West Bengal which we regard as very progressive State in cultural matters. In Uttar Pradesh Government has spent about 16 per cent. of the total revenue and in Madhya Pradesh 17 per cent., in Bihar 14 per cent., in the Punjab 13 per cent., Orissa 13 per cent., West Bengal 11 per cent., Bombay 21 per cent., Madras 17 per cent. (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: Take also the medical service in the province and it will be a different tale to tell.) Mysore, 22 per cent., Assam 16 per cent. Sir, it will appear that we in West Bengal are very much behind other States so far as allocation of funds to educational purposes is concerned. Sir, I am aware of the fact that West Bengal has many problems to face, but we have also to take into consideration that West Bengal has been in the vanguard of educational and cultural progress in India and how is it that West Bengal under the leadership of the present Chief Minister is going behind so far as education and culture are concerned. One of the reasons, I beg to submit, is that our Chief Minister possibly is not devoting as much attention to education as this department deserves. Sir, the salary scales that have been recommended by the Board of Secondary Education are very modest and the Government is showing an unwillingness to accept even these modest scales. The Board, as you are aware, is composed substantially of Government officers and others who are connected with the Government institutions. It is an autonomous Board and it recommended more than a year ago certain scales which have not been given effect to. Sir, we expect that the West Bengal Government will refrain from interfering with the autonomous Boards. Some time ago I told the Chief Minister regarding some regulations that the West Bengal Secondary Board has drawn up and I sought to attract his attention to some inequities in the methods of the Board. He replied to me that it was an autonomous Board and it was necessary that the decision of the

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Board should not be interfered with. Now here is the autonomous Board and it has made certain recommendations and why not accept them? Why do you forget your previous principle that autonomous Board should not be interfered with? (The Hon'ble Dr. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY: There is no logic in it.) Sir, the salary scales that have been recommended by the Board are modest and the financial implications of the recommendations are not appalling in the least if we take into consideration the amount of money that the Government has been spending for some of the other departments.

[10-10—10-15 a.m.]

It will mean an additional expenditure of Rs. 35 lakhs. Coming to dearness allowance, I would like to draw your attention to the recommendation of the Board of Secondary Education again. The Board of Secondary Education recommended that the scale of dearness allowance should be the same as that given to the Government school teachers, that is 17½ per cent. of one's salary, with a minimum of Rs. 35. The financial implication of that proposal is a sum of Rs. 55 lakhs. So, in the total, if the recommendation of the Board of Secondary Education were to be given effect to, Government will need an additional sum of Rs. 90 lakhs. Sir, I have no hesitation in saying that the Finance Minister of West Bengal can find this money if he likes. He has been an educationist for the last half a century, but recently he has come to be known in Bengal more as a man of blood and iron than as a votary of culture. Sir, I would like to draw his attention particularly to his services to the cause of education and to take up this educational problem and to solve it. It is not, Sir, a question of putting a few more rupees in the pockets of a few teachers—that even is of very great importance because it involves a question of justice—but I will not lay emphasis on that; I will lay

emphasis upon the future education of Bengal. The system of Secondary Education is regarded in all countries as the backbone of the educational system and the cultural system of the country. Sir, the problem that faces us today is whether the culture of Bengal will live or not, whether there will be educational progress in our country or not. Sir, could I seek your permission to place before you the relevant observation of the Planning Commission in this behalf? The Planning Commission writes: "We are convinced that no improvement in the existing system will be possible without improving the conditions of service of the teachers and putting their remuneration on a fair basis of comparison with other services." Sir, I am also reminded, as I am standing here, of the very pregnant observation of Sir John Sargent, an English educational administrator. He said in a well-known report known as the Sargent Report: "Education on the cheap is the falsest of false economies." Sir, our Education Minister is affording education on the cheap; it is one of the falsest of false economies. I hope, Sir, he will look at the problem from a new angle.

Before I conclude, Sir, I will add that I am not bringing up these matters in a spirit of controversy. I refuse to rake up the past. Let us forget the past, let us face the problem as it has presented itself before us. If we do so, there is no other solution but to accept the very reasonable proposals of the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education. With these words, Sir, I commend this resolution to the House, and I hope that it will be accepted in the spirit in which it is offered to them. Thank you.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Sir, is it not better that Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri also should move his resolution, so that the two could be discussed together?

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** I think they should be taken up separately because we can discuss one at a time.

**Mr. Chairman:** The point is that Mr. Rai Choudhuri's resolution is similar in spirit and intention to the resolution of Professor Bhattacharyya, and I think it would be quite in order for him if he speaks on Professor Bhattacharyya's resolution and does not move his, because the House cannot have arguments twice over on the same set of questions, on the same matters; and so I would suggest that Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri do speak on this resolution which fully covers his own motion, and his motion need not be put before the House.

[10-15—10-20 a.m.]

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** On a point of order, Sir. I was told by Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri that the resolution of which he has given notice was declared out of order by you. We do not know what has happened in the meantime which makes the resolution of Sj. Rai Choudhuri in order.

**Mr. Chairman:** The original resolution which was declared out of order has been considerably modified by this new resolution. It is more or less in line with your own resolution and Sj. Rai Choudhuri can speak on it.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** With all respect to you, Sir, I would like to submit that as my resolution is so much different from that of Sj. Rai Choudhuri I refuse to associate myself with the resolution of Sj. Rai Choudhuri.

**Mr. Chairman:** Sj. Rai Choudhuri, you can speak on this resolution if you like.

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:** Sir, as my resolution is in a sense part of the resolution moved by my friend Professor Bhattacharyya and as the Chairman of the House has pointed out that he will not allow the same set of speeches on two different resolutions similar in spirit, therefore, I have no other alternative than to bow down to his decision and speak on the resolution

of Professor Bhattacharyya withdrawing somewhat unwilling my own resolution.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** On a point of order, Sir. Is he going to support the resolution of Professor Bhattacharyya or not?

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:** Oh yes. I would support the resolution of Professor Bhattacharyya with similar arguments and also advance other arguments in support of my own resolution which I had wanted to move but which at the bidding of the Chairman I have got to withdraw. Sir, I would make observations similar to that which I made in the last session when I moved a resolution like this. It is unfortunate that this resolution proposing relief to the teachers by implementing their demands has got to be moved by a teacher. I would have been happier if the cause of the teachers had been taken up by some other friends of ours. However, in a sense it is good that I and my friend Professor Bhattacharyya who are teachers have to move this resolution. The wearer knows where the shoe pinches more than anybody else.

Sir, the teachers of this Province have been suffering for a long time. In spite of tremendous hardships they have been doing their duty most loyally. It is oftentimes said that the teachers should be sacrificing and that they should imbibe the spirit of the *gurus* of old. I have no doubt that they should. And as a matter of fact the example of Buno Ramnath and others is being followed by them in silence and in suffering but there is a limit to human endurance. When I find in our society that everybody is rolling in luxury, at least those who are similar in education to and who belong to the same status in society as members of the teaching profession, are far better off than the latter then, Sir, is it human, is it logical, is it consistent with a sense of reality to expect the teachers to make all the sacrifices? So, Sir, I would request my

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[10-20—10-25 a.m.]

friends both in the House and in the country not to harp on the necessity of the teaching profession to sacrifice. They have made sacrifice; they are making sacrifice today. On account of their meagre pittance, the small remuneration which they are getting, nobody would have found fault with them if they had non-co-operated with the Government, the people of Bengal and abstained from doing their duty. But they are teachers, humble teachers who do their duty silently and who believe that in doing their duty they are discharging a sacred obligation to the country. But we the people of Bengal and the Government who are the representatives of the people of Bengal should come forward and take up their cause. The resolution which has been moved by my friend Professor Bhattacharyya is, a very modest one: the demand of the teachers is a very modest one and that has been supported by almost a semi-official body like the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education. The Board has suggested a dearness allowance of Rs. 35. That is the amount of dearness allowance paid to the members who belong to the lower groups of the public service under the Government. There is no reason therefore why it should be denied to the teachers, particularly when the reasonableness of the demand has been conceded by the Board. I believe, Sir, when you think over the matter and when my friends in the House, particularly my friends on the Congress side also think over the matter calmly, they will agree with me that the demand is not unreasonable.

Then, Sir, what is the minimum salary which the school teachers demand? I find from a memorandum which has been circulated by the All-Bengal Teachers' Association that the minimum salary of a high school teacher, junior in rank, is only Rs. 50 and of a senior teacher Rs. 75. This is most

ridiculous. No one can deny for a moment that the demand of the teachers who have asked for a minimum salary that has been accepted in the School Code of the West Bengal Secondary Education Board is unfair. That Code has been lying with the Education Department for a long time. The Education Minister is here and he will remember that I have seen him many times in this connection, and requested him to see carefully how far he could give effect to the demand immediately, if it is impossible for him to accept it all at once. There has been as yet no sympathetic response from him. Sir, I know the Government is in great difficulty, financial difficulty. But I also know that about whatever matters they are serious and are bent upon doing something there is no dearth of money for them, particularly the resourcefulness of our Chief Minister in particular is unbounded in this direction. I am quite sure that if he really sets his heart upon giving effect to this demand of the poor teachers, money will be forthcoming.

[10-25—10-30 a.m.]

In any case, Government would not be justified in putting off the reasonable demands of the teachers on the plea of paucity of funds. If there is no fund, it is their duty to find out ways and means for meeting these demands. I have seen the Chief Minister many times. He has never said that the demands are unreasonable, on the other hand he has expressed great sympathy for the demands of the teachers, but, Sir, the sincerity of a profession can be tested only by the amount of sacrifice one is prepared to make. Sincere effort is necessary to give a tangible manifestation of a sympathy. I again say that if the Government is sincerely bent upon giving effect to this resolution, they will be able to find out necessary funds for this purpose. Last session when I moved a resolution like this, I requested the Government to appoint a committee to find out ways and means for giving effect to that resolution. I suggested them

passing that if necessary, certain new sources should be tapped. All sections of the House unfortunately protested against this suggestion. They did not accept my resolution, but, Sir, I have nothing to say against the attitude or the views of non-officials, that is, of those of our countrymen who have not got to shoulder the responsibility of the administration of the State. But it does not lie in the mouth of Government to say that they accept the reasonableness of the demands but that for want of funds they cannot give effect to them. They have no right to refuse to take necessary steps to find out ways and means for getting money enough for the purpose. Sir, the secondary teachers of Bengal have been exasperated, they have, as is well known, declared their intention to cease work, because they feel that it is not possible for them to sincerely work, as they have been doing so long, because the cup of their misery is becoming more and more full. It is not that they want to embarrass the Government. It will be a mistake on the part of Government to think so. The real fact is that they have reached the limit of their endurance and it will no longer be possible for them to do their duty conscientiously with this salary. I would request the Government to consider the matter very seriously. On the last occasion when the Supplementary Budget was for discussion, I observed that it was unfortunate that when the Government presented their Supplementary Budget, it did not care to do something to meet the demands of the teachers. However, the new budget is in the process of preparation now, and if the Government like, it will not be difficult for them to put forward in the budget the amount which is required.

[10-30—10-35 a.m.]

Sir, I would ask the Government not to minimise the gravity of the situation that has been created. There is no doubt that the teachers' strike in a sense is not as serious as a strike declared by workmen, by members of the essential Services.

But teaching is also an essential service, unfortunately it is not recognised as such. When members of what is considered an essential Service go on strike, Government are moved to action. Possibly the teachers' strike will not be considered by them as serious. But I would again ask the Government not to minimise the gravity of the situation. I have of late been touring some parts of West Bengal and I have come in contact with numerous teachers belonging to all grades of the teaching profession. They have all told me that this time they would go on strike because they are unable to continue their work any longer. Sir, through you I would ask the Government, the Education Minister and the Chief Minister who are here, I ask both of them to visualise what chaos will be created in the country if the teachers abstain from their classes and lakhs and lakhs of students have to idle away their time. Sir, a serious situation is bound to be created. Not long ago one of the great Vice-Chancellors of the Universities in India, Dr. Amarnath Jha, pointed out that a hungry teacher is a danger to society. I have been time and again telling the Government that they should always bear this in mind. Of course, any hungry man is a danger to society. Hunger leads to revolution. But a hungry teacher is far more dangerous than anybody else who is hungry, because the potentiality of mischief in him is very great. Of course, they have not yet taken it into their head to cause any mischief but, Sir, human nature being what it is, the Government should not forget that if a man is goaded to desperation, there is no knowing how far he will go ultimately. Therefore, I say, Sir, that Government should take into account the seriousness of the situation which has been created by the resolution of the teachers to strike. I would entreat the Government to consider carefully what they can do to give effect to the reasonable demands of the teachers. If it is not possible for them to give effect to the

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teachers' demands at once with the existing resources at their disposal, they should try to find out other ways and means, they should tap immediately other resources. Sir, we were being told for a long time that Government had no money, but the moment the Chief Minister and the other members of the Government came to the conclusion that for the relief of unemployment they should appoint a large number of teachers, money was forthcoming immediately. So, I would request our Chief Minister, the wizard of finance, as Professor Bhattacharyya called him the other day, to put his mind to this problem, and I am sure, Sir, that he will find that the amount that will be required is not too heavy for his resources. I find from the Memorandum circulated by the Teachers' Association that the additional finance required for giving effect to their demand will involve no very heavy financial commitment on the part of the Government. Dearness allowance will be only in the neighbourhood of Rs. 55 lakhs, and the financial implication of the introduction of the new scale of salary will not be more than Rs. 35 lakhs a year. So, Sir, not more than Rs. 1 crore is required to give effect to the demands contained in the resolution. Sir, I would request the Government to consider the matter at once and to find out ways and means to give effect to the resolution with effect from the next Budget.

With these words, Sir, I would commend the House to accept the resolution of Professor Bhattacharyya, and I would particularly once again request the Chief Minister if it is not possible to implement it in the present financial resources, to immediately tap other resources so that the teachers might get relief with effect from next April. Thank you, Sir.

[10-35—10-40 a.m.]

**Dr. Bijanbihari Bhattacharya:**

মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, আজকের সভায় অধ্যাপক নির্দল ডাটাচার্য্য মহাশয় যে প্রস্তাব এনেছেন

সেই প্রস্তাব সম্পর্কে আলোচনা করছি। শিক্ষকদের পারিশ্রমিক বৃদ্ধি সম্পর্কে আলোচনা শুধু আজ নয় আগেও অনেকবার হয়েছে। অধ্যাপক ডাটাচার্য্যের প্রস্তাব আসবার পূর্বেও এই সভায় শিক্ষকদের দুরবস্থা দূর করার জন্য আমাদের সমস্ত দেশের এবং সরকারের কি কি পদা অবলম্বন করা উচিত এবং কিভাবে শিক্ষকদের অবস্থার উন্নতিবিধান করা সম্ভব তা নির্ণয় করারবার চেষ্টা একাধিকবার হয়েছে। এই প্রস্তাবেও কী কথা বলা হয়েছে তা কিছু নুতন নয়। শিক্ষকদের দুরবস্থা আজকে নয়, বহু বৎসর ধরে চলছে। ইংরাজের আমল থেকেই তার সূত্রপাত। এর প্রধান কারণ শিক্ষার দিকে আমাদের দৃষ্টি ছিল অতি স্বল্প। কেবল সরকারের দপ্তরখানার দায় পূর্ণ করার জন্য কয়েকটা স্কুল কলেজ খোলা হয়েছিল। তদানীন্তন সরকার চেয়েছিলেন, সেই স্কুল কলেজ থেকে কয়েকজন সাধারণ শিক্ষা পেয়ে সরকারী দপ্তরখানা পূর্ণ করবে। তার জন্য যেটুকু শিক্ষার প্রয়োজন সেইটুকু দেবার উদ্দেশ্যে ইংরেজ সরকার যেটুকু চেষ্টা করবার করেছিলেন এবং যেটুকু অর্থব্যয় না করলে নয় তাই করেছিলেন। জন-সাধারণের দানেই বেশী ভাগ স্কুল কলেজ চলছে। কিন্তু আজ দিন বদলে গিয়েছে, সমস্ত দেশের স্বপ্নি গিয়েছে ভেঙ্গে। আজ নুতন আলোকে সংসারকে দেখতে হবে, দেশকে দেখতে হবে; শিক্ষাবিধিকেও নুতন দৃষ্টি দিয়ে দেখবার সময় এসেছে।

এখন প্রশ্ন এই যে কটা টাকা আমরা মহিনা পাই? আমরা যা পাই তাতে আমাদের জীবনধারণ চলে কি? আমরা বলতে সমস্ত শিক্ষকের কথাই বলছি যদিও অধ্যাপক ডাটাচার্য্য কেবল সেকেন্ডারী স্কুলের শিক্ষকদের কথাই বলেছেন—কিন্তু এই শিক্ষাব্যবস্থাকে খণ্ডিত কোবে দেখলে চলবেনা, সমস্ত শিক্ষাব্যবস্থাকে অঞ্চলভাবে, সম্পূর্ণভাবে দেখতে হবে। তাহলে ৩৫ লক্ষ কেন তার চেয়ে অনেক বেশী টাকার প্রয়োজন। আজ আমাদের কলেজের শিক্ষকদের দুরবস্থার কথা এবং প্রাথমিক শিক্ষকদের দুরবস্থার কথাও চিন্তা করতে হবে; তাছাড়া ইউনিভার্সিটির শিক্ষকদের কথাও ঐ সঙ্গে ভাবা চাই। সরকারকে সমগ্র শিক্ষক সমাজের দিকে সমানভাবে দৃষ্টি দিতে হবে।

অধ্যাপক ডাটাচার্য্যের প্রস্তাবে সেকেন্ডারী শিক্ষকদের কথা বলা হয়েছে। সম্ভ্রতি নিখিল বঙ্গ শিক্ষক সমিতি বিধান পরিষদ এবং বিধান সভার সদস্যদের সঙ্গে এক সভায় মিলিত হয়েছিলেন। সেখানে শিক্ষকগণের পারিশ্রমিক বৃদ্ধির কথা সম্বন্ধে আলোচনা করা হয়েছে। আজকের প্রসঙ্গ সেই আলোচনাদই ঘেঁরে। সেই আলোচনার শিক্ষকদের দুরবস্থার প্রতি সকলেই লহানুভূতি প্রদর্শন করেছিলেন এবং সকলেই

একব্যকো স্বীকার করেছিলেন যে বাংলাদেশের শিক্ষকদের দুঃস্বা অন্যান্য প্ৰদেশের চেয়ে গুরুতর। যে প্ৰস্তাব আনা হয়েছে তাতে নির্দিষ্ট পরিমাণ “ডিমারনেন্স এলাউএন্স” বৃদ্ধি করার কথা বলা হয়েছে; সেই সঙ্গে সেকেন্ডারী বোর্ড যে “পে স্কেল” বর্ধিত করার জন্য সুপারিশ করেছেন, সেই সুপারিশ কার্য্যকরী কোরে তুলবার জন্য অধ্যাপক ডট্টাচার্য্য প্ৰস্তাব আনয়ন করেছেন। শিক্ষকগণের প্ৰতি-নির্ভরপে সমগ্ৰ শিক্ষক সমাজের পক্ষ থেকে সনির্বন্ধ অনুরোধ ক’রব মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় যেন সেই প্ৰস্তাব সহানুভূতি ও সুবিবেচনার সঙ্গে বিচার কোরে দেখেন এবং সেই প্ৰস্তাবকে কতদূর গৃহণ করা সম্ভব, এমন কি তার চেয়েও অধিকতর সাহায্য করতে পারেন কিনা তাও যেন বিচার করে দেখেন। আমি ভরসা করি তিনি সে দিকে অবহিত হবেন। শ্রুতের বহু মহীতোষ বাবু বলেছেন যে প্রধান মন্ত্রীমহাশয়ের সঙ্গে যখনই আলোচনা করেছেন তখনই তিনি সহানুভূতির সঙ্গে তাঁদের কথা শ্রবণ করেছেন এবং বিশেষ সহানুভূতির সঙ্গে শিক্ষকগণের বিষয় বিবেচনা করবেন এ আশ্বাস দিয়েছেন। সে আশ্বাস যে শুধু আশ্বাসে পর্য্যবসিত হয়নি তার প্রমাণ এই যে আগের বাজেটে সরকার “ডিমারনেন্স এলাউএন্স” কিছু বাড়িয়েছেন। সেই সঙ্গে প্রাথমিক শিক্ষকদেরও মৎসামান্য অভাব মোচন করা হয়েছে। সাহায্যের পরিমাণ যে যথেষ্ট নয় সে কথা স্বীকার করা যায়না। সরকারের কাছে দেশ আরও বেশী আশা করে। আমি বিশ্বাস করি যে সেটা যাতে যথেষ্ট হয় সে দিকে তাঁদের চেষ্টা সার্থকতা লাভ করবে।

[10-40—10-45 a.m.]

আমি এই বলেই শেষ ক’রব না। তাঁরা আমাদের অভাব মিটিয়ে ফেলবেন তা বললেই সব বলা শেষ হয় না। শিক্ষকদের সম্পর্কে যে আবেদন নিবেদন করতে হয় সে খুবই দুঃখের কথা। কিন্তু তার চেয়েও দুঃখের কথা বারংবার চাইতে চাইতে আমাদের মনটা ছোট হয়ে আসে। আমরা মাঝে মাঝে আলোচনা কোরে থাকি যে একজন “ম্যানুয়েল ওয়াবকার”এর চেয়ে একজন শিক্ষকের মাহিনা কম; এটা মোটেই শ্রুতিমধুর নয়। কাব চেয়ে কার মাহিনা কম বা বেশী হবে, আর তার উপর তার মর্যাদার বিচার হবে এটা খুব সঙ্গত মনে হয় না। একজন একশ পায়। আর একজন ৯৯ পেলে একটাকার মাঝে তার সম্মানে কমতি পড়বে এমন কথা কেন ভাবব? অর্থের দ্বারা আমরা সমাজকে বড় করতে পারবো না। অবশ্য অর্থের অভাব থাকলে তা পূরণ করতে হবে; কিন্তু অন্যের চেয়ে একজন কম পেলে আমরা তুলনা কোরে তাকে নিশা

করলে নিজেই অবমানিত করব। আমি জানি, সমাজে মর্যাদা সর্ব্ব প্রথম প্রয়োজনীয়। বিভিন্ন সভার এবং কনফারেন্সে অনেক শিক্ষক বারংবার বলেছেন শুধু টাকা নয়, শিক্ষকদের মর্যাদা চাই। টাকা চাই, তাঁদের অনু-বস্ত্রের প্রয়োজন আছে। কিন্তু তাঁদের অমর্যাদা সুখ-স্বাস্থ্যশেষরও যে প্রয়োজন আছে। তাও কিছু কিছু সরকার দিতে পারবেন কি না তাঁরা যেন বিবেচনা করেন। যেমন ধরুন, শিক্ষক মহাশয়দের পুত্র-কন্যাদের শিক্ষার খাতে যে ব্যয় হয় সেই ব্যয়ের যদি কিঞ্চিৎ আনুকূল্য সরকার করতে পারেন তাহলে তাঁরা শিক্ষক সমাজের কৃতজ্ঞতা অর্জন করবেন। সরকারী স্কুল কলেজে শিক্ষকদের পুত্র-কন্যাদের লেখাপড়ার জন্য যদি কিছু সুবিধা দেওয়া সম্ভব হয় তাহলে তাঁদের কিছু উপকার হয়। সেকথা সরকার যেন বিবেচনা কোরে দেখেন। তা ছাড়া শিক্ষকদের অসুখ হলে তাঁরা সরকারী ডাক্তারের ঔষধের সাহায্য এবং বিনামূল্যে অথবা অল্পমূল্যে ঔষধ পেতে পারেন কিনা সেটাও বিবেচনার বিষয়। বিশেষ কোরে প্রাণে যে সব শিক্ষক থাকেন তাঁদের দুর্গশার অবশি নাই। তাঁদের দিকে কেউ তাকায় না। তাঁদের দুরবস্থার কথা সরকারের বিশেষ করে বিবেচনা করা আবশ্যিক। তাঁরা শুধু দুটো টাকা পেলেই খুশী হন না। টাকা ছাড়াও তাঁদের অন্যবিধ সাহায্য দেওয়া সম্ভবপর কিনা সে কথা বিবেচনা ক’রে দেখতে সরকারকে অনুরোধ করি।

তা ছাড়া সামাজিক মর্যাদার অন্য দিক আছে। যেমন, বৃক্ষরোপণ উৎসব সামান্য ব্যাপার, এমন কিছুই নয়। রাজত্ববনে অথবা অন্যান্য স্থানে সরকারের উন্মোচনে বৃক্ষরোপণ উৎসব অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। তাতে শিক্ষকদের আহ্বান করা হয় না কেন? বিশিষ্ট নাগরিক বলে তাঁদের মনে করা হয় না কেন? অন্য পাঁচ জন সম্ভ্রান্ত নাগরিক যেমন নিমন্ত্রণ পান সেইরকম শিক্ষকদের অন্ততঃ তাঁদের প্রতিনিধি স্থানীয় দুই এক জনকে, কেন না সকলের ত স্থান সম্মুলান হবে না, এইসব সরকারী অনুষ্ঠানে নিমন্ত্রণ করলে তাঁদের মর্যাদা বাড়তে পারে, সরকারের সঙ্গে তাঁদের নৈকট্য বাড়বে। তাঁরা বুঝতে পারেন যে সরকার তাঁদের প্ৰতি শ্রদ্ধাশীল এবং সহানুভূতিসম্পন্ন। শিক্ষক সমাজের সহিত সরকারের সম্পর্ক যদি ঘনিষ্ঠতর হত তাহলে বোধ হয় তাঁরা নিত্যমুখের সঙ্গে যে প্ৰস্তাব এনেছেন—ধর্ম্মঘটের প্ৰস্তাব—এবং যেটা তাঁরা নিজেস্বাই বলেছেন “আনইউজুয়াল” আত্মত্যাগিক এবং অভূতপূর্ব্ব সে প্ৰস্তাব স্বত্বনও উপস্থাপন ক’রতেন না। অন্ততঃ তাঁরা সে পথ অবলম্বন করতে থিবা বোধ করতেন। আজকে



[Dr. Bijanbihari Bhattacharya.]  
 ৩৫ টাকা, জায়গায় ৩৪ টাকা দিলে তাঁরা নেবেন কিনা সেটা বড় কথা নয়। শিক্ষা মহানিশাণয় তাঁদের সঙ্গে একটু ঘরোয়া আলোচনা করলেই অনেক বাধা কেটে যাবে, অনেক জটিল সমস্যার জট খুলে যাবে। এই শিক্ষক সমাজ তো অবিরোধী নয়। মহানিশাণয় সহানুভূতির সঙ্গে কথা বললে সে কথা বুঝতে পারবেন। আজকে সবটা দেওয়া সম্ভব না হলেও কালকে দেওয়া সম্ভব হতে পারে। মহানিশাণয়ের যদি এমন ধারণাই হয় তো তাই বলুন। তাঁদের কাছে পরামর্শ চান। যদি সে চেষ্টা করতেন তাহলে যেন হয় শিক্ষকেরা যে “আনইউজুয়াল টেম্প” নিয়েছেন সেটা তাঁদের নিজে ছাড় না।

আমি এ বিষয়টা শিক্ষা মহানিশাণয়কে বিবেচনা করতে বিশেষ অনুরোধ করি।

[10-45—10-50 a.m.]

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Sir, in lending my whole-hearted support to the resolution moved by Professor Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya I will try to make a few points. At the very outset, I must say that today at least a different spirit is discernible in the House. For example, the first resolution that was also moved by Professor Bhattacharyya was accepted by the Chief Minister. I have heard with interest the speech made by my esteemed friend Dr. Bijanbihari Bhattacharya and I agree with him in many respects and I am glad to find that he has found it possible to support the resolution mainly. Therefore, I think it should not be difficult for this House to agree on this important issue. Sir, the question of education should be thought and should be considered in its broader aspect. Education is a thing that must be given topmost priority and I think that members of both sides of the House will agree on this point that education in an undeveloped country should receive and must be given the topmost priority which it deserves. Therefore, Sir, it should not be difficult for this House not only to agree to the resolution of Professor Bhattacharyya in support of the implementation of the recommendation of the demands of

the teachers of the secondary schools, but this House should also support the demands made from time to time by the other teachers, namely, the primary school teachers' association and the West Bengal College and University teachers. Last year, when the various teachers' bodies approached the Chief Minister and the Education Minister they were told that the consideration could not be given as the Government did not have sufficient time before the preparation of the budget. Sir, it is a question of attitude and spirit. This present resolution is also in time and before the preparation of the next budget and I hope that sufficient notice has been given and when the members do not deny that a priority should be given to education and to the demands—which are very modest—it will be possible for the Finance Minister and the Education Minister to accept the resolution.

[10-50—10-55 a.m.]

It should be possible for the Finance Minister and the Education Minister to accept it. Sir, it is needless for me to dilate on this point. But, as a passing reference, I would refer to the contribution of the different sources to the total expenditure for Education in the different States in the Indian Union:

<i>Assam.</i>		Per cent.
Government contribution	...	63.9
Local bodies	...	6.0
Fees	...	20.0
Other sources	...	10.0
<i>Orissa (a comparatively undeveloped State).</i>		
Government contribution	...	72.9
Local bodies	...	5.1
Fees	...	14.1
Other sources	...	7.8
<i>Bombay.</i>		
Government contribution	...	58.5
Local bodies	...	10.5
Fees	...	21.2
Other sources	...	9.8

But in our own State, we find that the contribution from the Government is the lowest, that is—

	Per cent.
Government contribution ...	37.5
Local bodies ...	10.6
Fees ...	37.6
Other sources ...	14.3

So, on a consideration of this item alone, it is not difficult to state that so far the Government quota has been inadequate.

The next point is that in the past we have discussed the difference in the salary structures of the non-Government and the Government teachers. When we take into consideration that about more than 70 per cent. of the student population is cared for by the non-Government institutions and only about 30 per cent. is cared for by the Government institutions, I think it should be our duty to persuade the Government that the contribution for the non-Government institutions should be at par; because, after all, you are making a discrimination in this particular respect. Therefore, Sir, I think that the resolution of Professor Bhattacharyya is a timely one, and whilst supporting this, I shall also place before the House, and particularly before the Education Minister, the claims of Primary School teachers and college teachers.

With these words, Sir, I commend the resolution for the acceptance of the House.

[10-55—11 a.m.]

### Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:

মাননীয় সভাপতি মহাশয়। আমাদের বহু অধ্যাপক নির্দল চন্দ্র ভট্টাচার্য্য মহাশয় যে প্রস্তাব আমাদের সামনে উপস্থিত করেছেন সে বিষয়ে কারও দ্বিমত নাই। সেকেন্ডারী স্কুলের বা প্রাইমারী স্কুলের বা কলেজ “টিচার্স” যারা শিক্ষা বিভাগে কাজ করেন তাঁদের বেতন যে অপূতুর সেটা সর্ব্ববাদীসম্মত। একথা যে প্রস্তাবের মার্কণ্ড নির্দল বাবু এই গৃহের সমুখে উপস্থিত করেছেন তা সভ্য সভায় সমরোপযোগী হয়েছে। হিসাব কোরে দেখা গিয়েছে যে দুই “আইটেম”এ বেতন ও “ভিয়ারকেন এলাউএন্স”এ

৯০ লক্ষ টাকা দরকার। কিন্তু বাংলা দেশের যে শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা তাতে ওঁকে তুলনামূলক অঙ্ক দিয়েও দেখাতে পারি যে উড়িষ্যা, যুক্ত প্রদেশ, পূর্বে পাঞ্জাব এবং অন্যান্য দেশের তুলনায় পশ্চিমবঙ্গের খরচের হার সব চেয়ে কম। শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার খাতে খরচ বাড়ান দরকার, তা ঠিক কিন্তু আমাদের রাজ্যের হাতে যে আয় আছে তা থেকে বিভিন্ন খাতে যে খরচ করা দরকার তা সব হয় না। মুখ্য মন্ত্রী মহাশয় এখানে নাই, তবে তিনি হয় ত বলেন যে স্বাস্থ্য এবং চিকিৎসার খাতে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের যে খরচ হয়, তা বোধ হয় অন্যান্য রাজ্যের তুলনায় বেশী, কিন্তু সার, আমি আমাদের গভর্নমেন্টকে এই কথা অনুধাবন করতে বলি, যে স্বাস্থ্যের জন্যই খরচ করুন, বা অন্যান্য কাজের জন্যই খরচ করুন, তবুও শিক্ষকের অবস্থা যদি ভাল না হয়, জনসাধারণের মধ্যে যদি জ্ঞান সঞ্চার না হয়, এক কথায় যদি ঠিকমত বা যথোপযুক্ত শিক্ষা না হয় তাহলে অন্যান্য যে কোন বিষয়ে যাই খরচ করুন তাতে ঠিক মত উপকার হবে না। আমি কয়েক দিন আগে শুনেছি, যে পূর্ববঙ্গের শিক্ষা ক্ষেত্রে, নানারকম বিপর্যায়ের সৃষ্টি হয়েছে; এবং যদিও তারা বহুবিধ অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যার সম্মুখীন, তাহলেও শিক্ষা ক্ষেত্রে যাতে ভাল লোক, যোগ্য লোক পাওয়া যায় তার জন্য শিক্ষকের বেতনের হার “এডমিনিষ্ট্রেটিভ সার্ভিসেস” থেকে বেশী করে দেয়া হয়েছে, যাতে উপযুক্ত লোক শিক্ষা ক্ষেত্রে আকৃষ্ট হয়, এবং শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা ভাল হয়। শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা যদি উন্নত হয়, এবং যদি সূহৃভাবে পরিচালিত করা যায়, তাহলে শাসন বিভাগে এবং সরকারী অন্যান্য ক্ষেত্রে যে সফলতা দেখা দেবে তাতে সন্দেহ নাই, তাই আমি বলি যে সেকেন্ডারী স্কুলের শিক্ষকদের জন্য যে ৯০ লক্ষ টাকা খরচ করবার প্রস্তাব করা হয়েছে, যদি সরকার মনে করেন যে সেটা খরচের ব্যবস্থা করা শক্ত হবে তবে তাঁদের এখন বিবেচনা করা উচিত যে বেকার সমস্যা দূর করার জন্য ১০ হাজার শিক্ষক নিয়োগ করা হলে, সেই ১০ হাজার শিক্ষক যদি উপযুক্ত বেতন না পান, তাহলে এত শিক্ষক নিয়োগ করলেও বেকার সমস্যা সমাধানের ফল তাঁরা পাবেন না। এবং শিক্ষার কাজে এদের নিয়োগ করেও কাজ সূহৃভাবে সম্পন্ন হবে না। তাই আমি অনুরোধ করি, এই গৃহের উভয় পক্ষের সদস্যেরা নির্দল বায়ুর প্রস্তাব সম্বন্ধে গ্রহণ করুন।

**Sj. Kamini Kumar Chose:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, the resolution that has been brought forward by Professor Bhattacharyya stresses

[Sj. Kamini Kumar Ghose.]

nothing new other than what we discussed on the floor of the House in the last session of the Council. Some of the members here feel that the recommendations of the Secondary Board should be acted upon. It is known to all that the salary of teachers of Secondary Schools is very meagre. The pay scale that has been proposed in the School Code is very moderate—the minimum salary for a Graduate teacher is Rs. 75 only. The All-Bengal Teachers' Association conference at Chinsura and the Headmasters' conference at Calcutta both stressed the need of raising the minimum salary of teachers to Rs. 200 in view of the present economic condition in the country and the high price of commodities. The School Code recommended Rs. 75 only as the minimum salary of Graduate teachers. Teachers have felt that it would be wise on their part to be satisfied for the present with the scale proposed in the School Code. We all know that to ensure sound education the teachers should not only be qualified but they should also be satisfied. You must see that they must be put in such a position that they are able to make both ends meet. Teachers, as you know, are the most ill-paid band of social workers, for whom, in these days of scarcity and high prices it has become impossible to live and therefore we find that all Education Commissions have stressed the needs for the immediate improvement of the pay and prospect of teachers. Even the Planning Commission says "we are convinced that no improvement in the existing system will be possible without improving the conditions of service of teachers and putting their remuneration on a fair basis of comparison with other services."

[11-0—11-5 a.m.]

Sir, we all know that it is not possible for the teachers to maintain their family with what they get at present.

Turning to Dearness Allowance, I say that I know that Government

has made some provision in the present budget but that is quite inadequate. The Board has suggested Rs. 35 as Dearness Allowance and I know that the Government, particularly our Chief Minister, will realise the justness of this demand of the teachers. The question is how and where to get the money from which would be sufficient for the purpose. I do not want curtailment of development plans in the budget but I would request the Government to find out ways and means to implement the provisions of the School Code.

Sir, it is known to all that the All-Bengal Teachers' Association is organising a strike if the demand is not conceded to. I do not suggest that Government should accede to the demand because of the threat of the strike but the Government should realise why the teachers should be driven to adopt such a resolution. We all know that the teachers as a class fight shy particularly in this respect. They have never taken to strike. But because they feel that it is not possible for them to make both ends meet therefore they have made such a proposal. Personally speaking, I am not in favour of such a strike. The Headmasters' Association also have adopted a resolution in which they have denounced such kind of strike. But at the same time we all feel that the demand put forward by the teachers deserves fulfilment and Government should accede to the proposal made by the Teachers' Association, and incorporated in the School Code that has been pending with the Government for a long time. I hope the School Code and the Dearness Allowance should be approved by the Government and provision for the same should be made in the budget. It would be much appreciated if some provision were made in the Supplementary Budget this year, but when that has not been possible let us hope that Government will allot some money in the near future. Lastly, I would request the Government and, particularly, the Education Minister and the Chief Minister to

implement the recommendations of the Board of Secondary Education—a body which has been statutorily set up by the Government for controlling, directing and developing the Secondary Education in the Province.

[11.5—11.10 a.m.]

**Janab Abdul Halim:**

বিঃ চেয়ারম্যান, আমি, মাননীয় প্রক্টোর ভট্টাচার্য্য যে প্রস্তাব এনেছেন, সেইটে সম্বন্ধ করতে উঠে কয়েকটা কথা বলতে চাই। মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষাবোর্ড শিক্ষকদের “পে এণ্ড ডিয়ারনেস” সম্পর্কে যে “রেকমেন্ডেশন” করেছেন, তা খুব ন্যায্য। বর্তমান অবস্থায় আমাদের যে শিক্ষাবিদরা, দেশের লোককে যারা শিক্ষা দিয়া থাকেন এবং যারা কালচারের বাহক তাঁদের দুরবস্থার মধ্যে জীবন ধারণ করতে হচ্ছে। তাঁদের ছেলেমেয়ে নিয়ে কষ্টে-শ্রুতি জীবন-যাপন করতে হচ্ছে, কাজেই তাঁদের দাবী ন্যায্য। আমরা আগের বাজেটে বলেছিলাম, তাদের জাতীয় প্রতিদান করা উচিত, বিভিন্ন খাতে খরচ কম করে শিক্ষার খাতে খরচ করা উচিত; কিন্তু এই বারকার অতিরিক্ত বাজেটে তার কিছুই দেখতে পেলেন না। আগামী বাজেট আসতে এখনো যথেষ্ট সময় আছে, আশা করি শিক্ষামন্ত্রীমহাশয় এবং মুখ্য মন্ত্রীমহাশয় শিক্ষকদের দাবী সম্পর্কে বাজেটে “প্রতিদান” রাখবেন। শিক্ষার জন্য যে ৫০ লক্ষ ও ৯০ লক্ষ টাকার কথা শুনছি আশা করি বাজেটে তার প্রতিদান থাকবে। দেশের “ডেপেলপ্লমেন্টের” জন্য যে সমস্ত “স্কীম” এবং বিভিন্ন পরিকল্পনা হচ্ছে সেগুলো সব বড় বড় ব্যাপার, সেই পরিকল্পনার জন্য টাকা বরাদ্দ হয়ে যায়, “কন্টিনুয়েন্সী ফাণ্ড” বা অন্যান্য “ফাণ্ডের” ব্যবস্থা টাকা পাওয়া যায়। দেশের আকস্মিক কোন দুরবস্থা মোটাবার জন্য টাকার ব্যবস্থা করা হয়, কাজেই শিক্ষার জন্য কিছু বেশী টাকার বরাদ্দ হতে পারবে না কেন? আমি অনুরোধ করব মাননীয় শিক্ষা মন্ত্রী-মহাশয় এ বিষয়টা বিবেচনা করবেন।

আমরা জানি যে সেক্রেটারী বোর্ড থেকে মাধ্যমিক বিদ্যালয়ের শিক্ষকদের ১০৮ টাকা “ডিয়ারনেস এন্ড এন্স” মঞ্জুর করা হয়েছিল; তাঁদের সিদ্ধান্ত হয়েছিল যে গভর্নমেন্ট “৫০ পার্সেন্ট” দেবেন, এবং “প্রাইভেট” ক্ষেত্রে তারা “৫০ পার্সেন্ট” দেবেন। কিন্তু সে টাকা উঠে নাই সেই জন্য তাঁরা সেই ১০৮ টাকা জাত আঁচা পর্যন্ত পান নাই। সেক্রেটারী বোর্ড তাঁদের জন্য যে ৩৫৮ টাকা জাত বন্ধুর করেছেন সেটা ন্যায্য। তবে তাঁদের ১০ টাকা জাতই কার্যকরী হয় নাই, আমি আশা করি

ট্রেজারী বেকের সদস্যরা ও এডুকেশন ওমিককার অন্যান্য মাননীয় সদস্যরা এই দাবী সম্বন্ধ করবেন। এবং আশা করি গভর্নমেন্টও এই দাবী মেনে নেবেন। আর একটু বলতে চাই যে দেশে যারা শিক্ষাবিদ যারা দেশের সভ্যতাকে বাড়িয়ে নিয়ে যাবেন, তাঁদের যে আজ “ট্রাইবুট” কথা বলতে হচ্ছে এটা বড়ই দুঃখের বিষয়। আশা করি মন্ত্রীমহাশয় সেই সভ্যতার উত্তর যাতে না হয় সে ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করবেন।

**SJ. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

Sir, I expected that the Honble Education Minister would stand up at once after Professor Bhattacharyya had moved the resolution and accept it. Whether we belong to the Government Party or the Opposition or whether we are connected with the Education Department or not, there cannot be and should not be any difference of opinion as to the merit of the resolution which has been very ably moved by my friend Professor Bhattacharyya. Professor Bhattacharyya does not want a scale which he has framed from his own standpoint but he has asked the Government to give effect to the scales of pay and dearness allowance which have been framed by the Board of Secondary Education, which was created by the Government itself. The Education Minister may come to us with an excuse “Well, I have every sympathy for this resolution, but where is the money with which the Government can give effect to the resolution framed by the Board of Secondary Education.” My answer is, if such an excuse comes from the Education Minister, that if you can find out money for your Kalyani township involving an expenditure of crores of rupees, you can certainly find out money for giving effect to the scales of pay and dearness allowance framed by the Board. Sir, the Education Minister or the Chief Minister or Professor Bhattacharyya or I myself or any member in this House owe their existence and the position to the education we received in the Secondary Schools. It is the teachers who are creating all those Ministers, all the Advocate-Generals and Standing Counsels of whom the West Bengal Government may boast. Sir, we hear the Congress

[Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee.]

authority showing their anxiety for raising the standard of living. Sir, are the teachers to be excluded from the consideration that they should be kept above the point of starvation?

[11-10—11-15 a.m.]

Are the teachers to be excluded from the consideration that they should be given at least the minimum amount which they require to keep their heart and soul together? Sir, the teachers have never claimed that amount which a successful medical man is earning or an Advocate-General or a Standing Counsel is earning or the officers belonging to the Departments of the Government are earning. But, they are claiming, as has been pointed out by the Teachers Association, an amount which they think, and surely which we all think, is absolutely necessary for keeping them above the ordinary wants of life. They have dedicated their life to the cause of education, and if anybody is anxious for forming a welfare State, for doing services to the mother country, the highest amount of contribution must be deemed to be coming from these teachers. They by their profession are building up the best materials necessary for a State. You may spend lakhs of rupees on Police, you may spend lakhs of rupees on Army, but if you cannot build up the character of your citizens by education, you stand nowhere in the world. Therefore, Sir, every Government and my Government, the Chief Minister and the Education Minister should think of these teachers who are contributing most, in my humble opinion, towards the building up of a welfare State, and, therefore, they must find out the money. Sir, if the present income is not adequate, I submit for the consideration of the Government that they must find out either from the sales tax or from other sources the amount of money which would enable them to give effect to the scale of pay and the dearness allowance as recommended by the Secondary Board. Sir, I am connected with more than one

Secondary School, at least one institution of which many of you may have heard, the Park Institution, which has been built up without any contribution from Government. The Managing Committee of that institution, of which I happen to be the Secretary, has already given effect to the recommendations of the Board of Secondary Education. If, therefore, Government will, I am confident that they will find sufficient money to give effect to the recommendations of the Secondary Board.

Sir, I do not want to be long, but before I sit down I want to make one suggestion to you, Mr. Chairman. Sir, you are an educationist, you have been a teacher all your life, and on an important question like this which is for consideration before the House, a few words from your lips would be welcome. I do not know whether the rules stand in the way of your doing so. If there is no convention, I want you to create the convention. You as a teacher, you as an educationist of world-wide reputation, should say something whether the Government should give effect to the resolution which has been moved by Professor Bhattacharyya.

**Mr. Chairman:** Unfortunately I am debarred by rules from making any such statement. Next speaker, please.

**Sj. Devaprasad Chatterjee:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, the resolution moved by Professor Bhattacharyya is one that should receive general support. I listened with interest the arguments put forward by my learned friends opposite while supporting the resolution.

[11-15—11-20 a.m.]

But the question should have been considered from a wider angle. While it is desirable that the pay of the teachers in Secondary Schools should be at par with the scales proposed by the Board of Secondary Education the Government would be lacking in their duty if they did not consider the cases of teachers of Primary Schools and teachers of colleges as well. In my opinion, it would have been

better if Professor Bhattacharyya amended his resolution and suggested the formation of a committee which would go into the question of looking into the pay scales of all the teachers of West Bengal. Because not only the question of fund has to be considered in raising the scales of pay of a particular class of teachers but there are other aspects of the question. In my previous speech in the Council, I suggested that this was only the part of a bigger question. This question naturally hinges on that of the distribution of the educational institutions in West Bengal. In Calcutta, for example, there are secondary schools which are concentrated in a particular locality. Some institutions have 500 students in their rolls and some have more than 1,000. As the institutions are unequal in respect of numerical strength of students, in spite of the scale proposed by the Board, it would mean unequal scales of pay ranging from school to school. But if we could regulate the distribution of the schools as between different localities then the question of pay scale would be automatically solved. My friend Sj. Deben Mukherjee said that the Park Institution, of which he is the Secretary, has adopted the scale proposed by the Secondary Board. But there are many others who have not the requisite fund to adopt the scale. Naturally, they will have to depend on the Government for financing the deficit in case they adopt a uniform scale. If the Government have to finance the deficit amount, the question is how they would secure the extra fund? Then there is another aspect of the thing. Some of the teachers may be working as whole-time teachers in one school and as part-time in another. Some of the teachers are working purely as whole-time and some as purely part-time teachers. Thereby, naturally, some of the teachers are earning greater amount than others. If the scale of pay is made uniform then there should be a uniform rule of service for all these teachers. Similar is the case with college teachers. Here the problem is even

greater. Some teachers are working as whole-time teachers in some colleges and as part-time teachers in some other colleges.

[11-20—11-25 a.m.]

Some are working as purely whole-time and some else as purely part-time teachers. So I would suggest that the whole question involves a bigger issue, and if we want to improve the lot of the teachers we should take a complete view of the picture. I do feel the teachers' lot is not at all enviable and our Education Minister and the Government should early set up a Committee to look into and examine the scales of pay of all teachers, and not only of the Secondary School teachers as suggested by the Board of Secondary Education and the sponsor of the resolution but also of the primary, college and University teachers and then to frame a scheme on the basis of which they may regulate the institutions on a fuller way and thereby make the suggested scales of pay and dearness allowance practically feasible. On that Committee it would be better if the Government include members from both the Houses representing all interests. That would be a practical aspect of solving the problem. Otherwise, if we only support the resolution and accept it there would really be no end of the question. The Primary teachers also, I can safely assert, would in no time bewail their difficulty and hard existence, and feel that the Government would be failing in their duty if they only look to the interests of one class of teachers and exclude others from their purview. So I would request Professor Bhattacharyya to bring such an amended resolution or in the alternative to request the Education Minister for the setting up of a Committee as suggested by me and arrange for the early functioning of the Committee for ameliorating the condition of all teachers who are the real nation-builders and to many of whom, as suggested by Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee, we really owe the culture which we have today.

**The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, as suggested by my friend, Professor Mukherjee,—he was a professor at one time—I might have simply said that Government is actively considering the question of remuneration of Secondary School teachers. Probably that would satisfy the House if it does not think that that is a mere pretence. I have heard the word "plea" used by Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri, and Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee has said something in which he used the word "pretence". As a matter of fact the salary and other remuneration of Secondary teachers are constantly in our thought because those who have bestowed any thought on our education requirements know that teachers, properly qualified must be properly paid. Education in this State or in any other Indian State presents enormous difficulties to be overcome, not only in the field of Primary Education but also in the Secondary and collegiate education and adult education and these difficulties are greater than those in more advanced countries like England.

Now, Sir, certain observations and facts have been made and stated which are not correct. Professor Bhattacharyya, for instance, has said that the initial salary recommended by the Secondary Education Board has not been sanctioned by the Government but refused. As a matter of fact Government has said, with regard to this proposal, that Government has no objection to these initial salaries being given and would in fact expect that these would be paid by the schools out of their own resources aided by such grants as the Secondary Education Board might make.

[11-25—11-30 a.m.]

But in the present economic capacity of the State a larger amount of grant-in-aid from Government should not be expected. That is all that I said. We do not disapprove of the scales. In fact, Government have not disapproved of any scales so long as they are

within reasonable limits. I must say this is not a pretence. I have just heard from Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee that the Park Institution has given effect to the recommendation of the Board at once without waiting for aid. So if other schools contrive to pay these higher initial salaries Government would be glad, provided of course these are paid out of their resources supplemented by the grant the Board can pay and the Board of course will receive the money from Government but an augmented Government grant cannot be relied upon. It is not a fact that Government have refused to sanction the proposed salaries. (Sj. MOHITOSH RAI CHOUDHURI: Government have refused to sanction larger amount.)

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I did not say Government did not give effect to the scheme—

**The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose:** Sir, Government must know the financial implication of a scheme and Government cannot commit themselves to any scheme without knowing the financial implications of the scheme. (Sj. MOHITOSH RAI CHOUDHURI: Why have you not been able to find out money as yet?) Sir, I have written to the Board for the financial implications but the Board has replied stating that they are unable to do so and have taken time to do so. Then the proposal is not merely the initial salaries, but it is something more. It is a question of introducing suitable scales and I will not be very much surprised if the Board cannot give me the financial implication with any degree of accuracy. So far as the present initial scales that have been proposed, I do not say they are unreasonable. In fact, compared to our scales on the grant-in-aid rules the difference is not much. The materials as regards the financial implications are with the Board.

Secondly, it has been said that Rs. 30 lakhs—I think it is Rs. 29 lakhs and odd—go in aid at the present time and we pay as grant to the Secondary Board Rs. 36 lakhs

and if the dearness allowance is included it will be another Rs. 30 lakhs and not less. If the dearness allowance is increased to Rs. 35 per teacher per month it will be a crore. Apart from this what will be the effect on those schools which do not receive any aid? They will not be able to satisfy the demands of their teachers. Either they will lose their recognition or they will have to come upon the aid. There will be no other alternative. These matters are not easy to decide. I discussed these things with a deputation from the Board. [11-30—11-35 a.m.]

If they suppose that Government is not taking the question into consideration, they would be wrong. I may assure the House that we are actively considering, as I said, how their remuneration could be increased—provided, of course, I also make some enquiry about the unaided schools, like the Park Institution, as to which of them would be able to pay the increased salaries. Then, one word I ought to say, and that is that Secondary Education is coming in for a great deal of development. Development of Secondary Education such as the Board might suggest has not yet taken place. It was the duty of the Board to suggest in what direction Secondary Education should develop. That duty has not yet been performed by them, though they have suggested some improvements, that there should be medical examination of students, and the like. But development is used in the sense of providing more schools—for instance, the District School Board submits to us a scheme for primary education everywhere. So also the Secondary Board should submit to us a scheme under the Act for providing secondary education within reasonable distances in this State. We have not got this scheme yet, and we do not know what the cost will be. Secondly, you know that there is a Secondary Education Commission and, apart from their findings, the one conclusion with which you will all agree is that in the Secondary Schools there should be provision

for technical teaching, so that at the end of the school course or even at the end of the Junior High School the child may go out into the world and make his living. It has been said, and every thoughtful man would no doubt agree, that education for everybody is not higher education. What is necessary is that he must acquire not only some knowledge of the world around him but must also acquire some technical skill. If you keep that in view, the suggestion of the Commission that there should be a technical stream in every Secondary School is a suggestion which you cannot refuse to carry out. And you know that to introduce a technical stream means enormous cost. You have got to have a workshop, a scientific teacher, a technical teacher, and so on. From our experience we know that equipment alone costs Rs. 1 lakh. And there is the recurring expenditure, and I am not sure about the figure; it would be something like Rs. 17,000 per year. These expenditures will have to be faced. But I do not say that we can claim to be excused by saying that the salary of Secondary teachers is adequate. I would request the Secondary teachers to sufficiently take into consideration all the difficulties facing the Government, difficulties connected with education, and I would say that, when I repeat here that the matter is being considered—and I shall not be surprised if they hear something to their advantage soon. This proposal to strike work or something of that sort in connection with schools appears to me very strange, because a strike is generally associated with trade unions; it is a struggle weapon people making profit but people not sharing in the profit. But leaving aside this aspect, I consider a strike by teachers to be as impossible as a strike by parents refusing to maintain their children if they are not given adequate wages—I do not expect that sort of strike to materialise. I may add that luxury is not any standard by which anything is to be judged. If money is the measure of one's dignity as an



[The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose.]

honourable member has said, I should be very sorry. Even before your eyes you see people who earn very little but who are respected by everybody else. I can conceive of an old teacher drawing Rs. 30 and coming to see you, and you would not sit down before him.

[11-35—11-40 a.m.]

I came across a Minister of State who was present in the school in which he was taught. He could not take his seat in a chair so long as his Headmaster was sitting in a bench. This sort of thing still continues. I believe when these are remembered and the position of a teacher is thoroughly grasped—the kind of position which does not permit a barrister to sue for his fees—if that position is thoroughly understood the talk of this strike would show a great poverty of mind and when I say that Government is not at all indifferent because of any excuse or plea or anything I hope that the proposed strike will not materialise and the gentlemen representing the teachers would convey this news to them. I may add if the House is satisfied with the assurance that the matter is being actively considered then Professor Bhattacharyya ought to withdraw his resolution.

**SJ. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:**

Mr. Chairman, Sir, whenever the Education Minister is on his feet he creates confidence and his honesty and sincerity of purpose impress but I confess, Sir, with one or two remarks that he has made this morning I have got to join issue with him. He has referred to the strike. I will very humbly ask him to consider what makes these inoffensive and humble school teachers to come out in the street and speak of a strike. The school teacher is amongst the humblest of men and he likes to do his duty. But there are situations and situations imaginable when such a person turns back and says "I am starving, you give me sufficient food or else I shall not be able to carry on with my work." That

is exactly the position. This is the attitude of a desperate man who is driven to desperation by the social circumstances and an unsympathetic atmosphere.

Sir, I will refer to certain remarks that have fallen from my friend S. J. Devaprosad Chatterjea. He has suggested that it would have been better to move a resolution for the appointment of a committee to go into the entire question of the salaries of teachers of all groups. Sir, you are aware that at the last session of the West Bengal Legislative Council I had the honour of placing before you a resolution somewhat of that nature. The resolution was that a committee ought to go into the entire question of education so as to secure rapid development of education in West Bengal. That resolution did not receive the blessings of the Government benches and was killed. Therefore, it would be better not to put a resolution of such a comprehensive nature before the House again. It may be asked why did I select the Secondary School teachers within the scope of the resolution which I have placed before you. My reasons are very simple. The Board of Secondary Education which is in charge of the control, direction and development of Secondary Education in West Bengal and which is an autonomous body has made certain recommendations and because of these certain recommendations I was made bold to place this resolution before the Council.

[11-40—11-45 a.m.]

If tomorrow the Senate of the University of Calcutta which is placed in charge of higher education in Bengal makes a recommendation to the effect that the salaries of the college and University teachers ought to be increased that would make our case very strong and that would be a semi-official support to what we, college and University teachers, have been putting forward for the last few years. The case which I have placed before the House is therefore on a different footing.

Sir, there is no statutory body for the purpose of controlling, directing and developing primary education and no such body has yet been created under the Primary Education Act. So there is no representative body to put forward any recommendation on their behalf. But, Sir, the Secondary School teachers have had the support of the Board of Secondary Education and it is a Board set up and established by this Government in whose name I speak today. If tomorrow the University makes a recommendation or if the District School Boards make a recommendation for University and college teachers on the one hand and for Primary School teachers on the other, our hands will be certainly stronger. I am taking at the present moment a constitutional line, and it is for this reason that I have not put forward a claim on behalf of either the college and University teachers or of Primary School teachers. But my views regarding their demands are well known. We are grateful to the Education Minister for his pronouncement today. I would call it a weighty pronouncement. He has envisaged in his short but weighty speech the line of development that Secondary Education will take in the near future. He has spoken of the diversity of Secondary Education. That is the line we need in view of the Five-Year Plan whose recommendations are going to be implemented in the near future. With regard to the recommendation of the Board of Secondary Education he has definitely stated that the matter is under active consideration. Sir, I have had a talk with the Chief Minister also and he has instructed the Education Minister and told him that he would take into very sympathetic and active consideration the recommendations of the Secondary Education Board and see what he would be able to do in the matter. He has expressed the desire to see the representatives of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association. In view of this very kind pronouncement Sir, I withdraw the resolution. But I hope the

discussion that we have had here on the floor of the House would not be in vain and that for the cause of education definite steps will be taken and one of the steps that will be taken will be the implementation of the recommendations of the Board of Secondary Education. It is not a question of putting a few more rupees into the pockets of the school teachers. It is a question of developing and rehabilitating the entire Secondary Education so that our progress and culture may go on for ever.

In view of the assurance given by the Education Minister, Sir, I beg to withdraw my resolution.

**Mr. Chairman:** The mover wants to withdraw his motion and I think the House has no objection to his doing so.

[11-45—11-50 a.m.]

**Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee:** Sir, I record my protest against Professor Bhattacharyya's withdrawing the motion. I do not agree to the withdrawal.

**Mr. Chairman:** Then it will have to be put.

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:** Sir, I also do not agree to the withdrawal of the motion.

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:** In that event we may have to vote against the resolution. Therefore I would request Mr. Mukherjee and Professor Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri to accept Professor Bhattacharyya's withdrawal motion.

**Sj. Bijoy Singh Nahar:** On a point of order, Sir. Can we not take the sense of the House on the withdrawal motion?

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, Mr. Nahar's point of order is correct. It is for the House to permit me to withdraw my motion or not. My motion is this: that in view of the assurance of the Education Minister I withdraw the motion.

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:** I hope Mr. Mukherjee will not object to the withdrawal.

**Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee:** Sir, I do not so easily shift my ground.

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:** I hope, Sir, in view of the fact that the resolution of the Board of Secondary Education is receiving active and sympathetic consideration, there will be no objection to the withdrawal of the resolution.

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:** Sir, why do not they accept it?

**Sj. Chittaranjan Roy:** On a point of order, Sir. Under rule 46 of the Council Procedure Rules, it is the House which can give permission to a member to withdraw his motion.

**Mr. Chairman:** The difficulty is that if there is a single dissentient

voice, I shall have to put it to vote. But I think we may take this up first thing when we sit after adjournment.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** I have no objection.

### Adjournment.

The Council was then adjourned at 11-50 a.m. till 3-30 p.m. on Monday, the 30th November, 1953, at the Legislative Buildings, Calcutta.

### Members absent.

Banerjee, Sj. Tara Sankar,  
Bhattacharjee, Sj. Durga Kinkar,  
Bose, Sj. Subodh Kumar,  
Majumdar, Sj. Sudhirendra Nath,  
Mookerjee, Sj. Kamala Charan,  
Sarkar, Sj. Pranabeswar, and  
Sen, Sj. Debendra.

## COUNCIL DEBATES

*Monday, the 30th November, 1953.*

THE COUNCIL met in the Legislative Chamber of the Legislative Buildings, Calcutta, on Monday, the 30th November, 1953, at 3-30 p.m. being the 6th day of the Third Session, under the Constitution of India.

Mr. Chairman (the Hon'ble Dr. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI) was in the Chair.

### QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

[3-30—3-35 p.m.]

**Accommodation of the West Bengal Government Publication Sales Depot in a spacious room.**

**9. Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Will the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Commerce and Industries Department be pleased to state if the Government consider the desirability of accommodating the West Bengal Government Publication Sales Depot in a spacious room?

**Minister-in-charge of the Commerce and Industries Department (the Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy):** Yes, in the new building at 1, Hastings Street, Calcutta.

**8j. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Will it be situated in the ground floor?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** I cannot say whichever is convenient for all.

**Requisition of premises No. 19A, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta.**

**10. Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:** (a) Will the Hon'ble

Minister-in-charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department be pleased to state—

- (i) whether premises No. 19A, Ballygunge Circular Road, in Calcutta has been requisitioned by Government;
- (ii) if so, when and on what rent and what part of this rent has to be actually paid by Government and what part is realised from the sub-tenant;
- (iii) what was the amount of rent paid to the landlord of the said premises by the principal tenant before requisition, what was the rent subsequently demanded by the landlord, what is the amount of rent fixed by the Court, and what is the amount of rent now paid by the Government; and
- (iv) who are the landlords of the above premises and who was the principal tenant before requisition?
- (b) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact—
  - (i) that the Hon'ble High Court held the requisitioning of the entire premises mentioned above *mala fide*; and
  - (ii) that Government preferred an appeal against the above order of the High Court?
- (c) If the answer to (b) be in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—
  - (i) when was the appeal preferred by Government;
  - (ii) whether there was any delay in filing the appeal for which condonation was necessary;
  - (iii) if so, the reason thereof;
  - (iv) what was the total expenditure of Government in this case and what was the

amount paid to the contestant sub-tenant as costs who sought the protection of the High Court; and

- (v) what action, if any, Government have taken or propose to take against the Officer or Officers responsible for such action and whether the intervention of the Hon'ble Chief Minister was sought for at any stage?

**Minister-in-charge of the Land and Land Revenue Department (the Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu):**  
(a)(i) It was requisitioned.

(ii) On 4th February, 1951. Rent was not assessed or paid as litigation commenced soon thereafter. In consequence there was no question of realising rent from the sub-tenant.

(iii) These particulars were not collected as assessment could not be taken up on account of litigation.

(iv) Shri Hem Chandra Naskar and Shri Jogendra Nath Naskar are the landlords of the premises, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad was the principal tenant.

(b) Yes.

(c)(i) The appeal was filed on 21st December, 1951.

(ii) Yes.

(iii) Delay due to administrative reasons in taking delivery of copy of the judgment necessary to file an appeal.

(iv) Rs. 1,409-6 including Rs. 147-4 as costs awarded to the opposite party in the Original and Appellate proceedings.

(v) Government did not consider taking any step in this matter; nor was intervention of Chief Minister sought for.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় মহাস্বামীশায় তাঁর উদ্ভবের “(এ) (আই)” অনুচ্ছেদে যে বলেছেন “ইট ওয়াজ বেকুইজিসনড্”, সে বাড়ী কি এখনো “বেকুইজিসনড্” হয়ে আছে?

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:**

না।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

বাড়ীটা যে “বেকুইজিসন” করা হয়েছিল, সে “বেকুইজিসন” থেকে মুক্ত হবার কাণ্ড কি।

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:**

ঐ বাড়ী “বেকুইজিসন” করার নোটিশ দেবার পূর্বে মাঝা চলেছিল, মাঝা শেষ হবার পরে “বেকুইজিসন” আর করা হয় নাই।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় মহাস্বামীশায় বলবেন কি এই মাঝা কিসের জন্য হয়েছিল?

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:**

নোটিশ চাই।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় মহাস্বামীশায় বলবেন কি ঐ মাঝা বখান বিঃ জাষ্টিস্ এস, আর, দাসগুপ্তের কাছে উপস্থিত করা হয় তখন তিনি এই “বেকুইজিসন”কে “সেবা ফাইড” এবং এটা “অনেট” নয় এই রকম ব্যাং দিয়েছিলেন কিনা?

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:**

জবাবেই দেবতে পারেন, তাতেই বলা হয়েছে।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় মহাস্বামীশায় বলবেন কি ঐ বাড়ীর ভাড়া কত হবে তা না কেনেই “বেকুইজিসন” করা হয়েছিল কি?

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:**

নোটিশ দেবার পূর্বে ভাড়া কত ছিল ও সত হওয়া উচিত এসব “এনকোয়ারি” করা হয়েছিল।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় মহাস্বামীশায় অবগত আছেন কি না তিনি উক্তবে যে বলেছেন মৌলানা আবুল কালাম আজাদ ছিলেন, তাবপবে ২৬০৭ টাকার জায়গায় ৭০০৭ টাকা করার জন্য একটা সর্ভ দেখা হয়েছিল?

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:**

তা জানিনা।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় মহীমহাশয় বলবেন কি পৃথক যখন “বেকুইজিসন অর্ডার” বাতিল করে দিলেন জাটিল এন্ড আৰ, দাসগুপ্ত, তাবপবে গভৰ্ণমেণ্টেৰ তবক থেকে যে “আপিল ফাইল” কৰা হয়েছিল তাতে দেবি হয়েছিল;—কেন এই দেবি হয়েছিল?

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:**

“ফাইল”টা যে “এসিষ্ট্যান্ট”টাব “চার্জ” ছিল, তাব চোখে “কাটাৰাষ্ট” হয়েছিল, সেইজন্য ঠিক সময় “ফাইল” কৰা হয় নাই, তাবপবে “সেকসন্” ৫০০এ অনুসাবে “এয়াটেনশনে”ব জন্য আপিল কৰা হয়েছিল এবং তা মন্তুব হয় নাই।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় মহীমহাশয় বলবেন কি যখন হাইকোর্ট থেকে একবার যে রায় দেখা হয়ে গেল তাতে তারা বলে দিলেন যে “বেকুইজিসন” “অনেষ্ট” হয় নি এবং এটা “ম্যাসা ফাইড” তখন গভৰ্ণমেণ্টেৰ তবক থেকে আবার “এ্যাপিল” কৰাব কি কাৰণ ছিল?

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:**

নিশ্চয়ই কাৰণ ছিল।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

সে কাৰণটা কি—মহীমহাশয়েৰ কাছে আমি জানতে চাইছি।

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:**

তাহলে আধাকে “ফাইল” দেবতে হয়।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

গভৰ্ণমেণ্ট যে আপিল করতে চেয়েছিলেন সেটা ঘেরি হয়ে বাগুয়ার দরুণ ঠিকমত “ফাইল” হতে পারেনি, এই দেবি করাৰ জন্য যে সব সরকারী কর্মচারী দায়ী অর্থাৎ যাদের ফ্রাটের জন্য গভৰ্ণমেণ্টের ক্ষতি হল তাদের বিকল্পে কোন ব্যবস্থা মহীমহাশয় অবলম্বন করতে চান কি না?

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:**

প্রয়োজন মনে কবি না।

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

যে উত্তর দিয়েছেন এই প্রশ্নের তাতে দেখা যায় শুধু যে ১,৪০৯ টাকাই খরচ হয়েছিল—এই

মামলার দরুণ তা নয়, তাবপবে যে “পিটিশন্” কৰা হয়েছিল হাইকোর্টেৰ কাছে, তাতে বলা হয়েছিল—

[3-35—3-40 p.m.]

“It is stated in the petition that the said Hem Chandra Naskar by using his position and by exercising his influence with the authorities of the Government of West Bengal wrongfully induced the Government of West Bengal to issue an order on the 26th January, 1951, for requisition of the same premises..... temporary purchase.”

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** Does any question arise? The petition may be looked at.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় মহীমহাশয় বলেন—

That question does not arise,

কিন্তু এই মামলায় এই যে

serious allegationটা that the Minister has used his influence with the Government wrongfully

এবং তারজন্য হাইকোর্টে গেলে সেখানে সেটা “ডিসমিস” হয়ে গেল, কিন্তু এই “ডিসমিস” হয়ে গেল যে কর্মচারীর জন্য তার বিকল্পে কি অগ্রসর হতে চান না?

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:**

আমি প্রয়োজন মনে করিনা, আপনাদের যদি ইচ্ছা হয় এসবকে সব কিছু জানতে নোটিশ দিন, “ফাইল” এনে দেখাব।

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhatta-charyya:** Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the attention of the Government was drawn to those observations of His Lordship?

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** Does not arise and I want notice so that I may find out and answer.

**Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় মহীমহাশয় বলবেন কি এই বাড়ীতে যে লোক ছিল সে যখন সেই বাড়ী থেকে সরে যেতে

[Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri.]  
চায়নি যখন “বেকুইজিসন” কবা হয়েছিল, তাকে  
কি প্রধান মন্ত্রী বেলেঘাটায় অন্য এক বাড়ীতে যাবাব  
জন্য অনুরোধ করেছিলেন?

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:**

না।

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:**

সে লোককে আমি জানিও না এবং কখনো দেখিও  
নাই।

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, in view of the statement made by Sj. Choudhuri will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he desires to draw the attention of the Chief Minister and the Cabinet to the observations made by His Lordship?

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** No.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Does not the Hon'ble Minister think that the remark of His Lordship is extremely derogatory to the Government of West Bengal and the Minister concerned?

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** That is a matter of opinion. I do not think that this matter ought to be placed before the Chief Minister or before the Cabinet.

### MESSAGES.

**Secretary to the Council (Sj. A. R. Mukherjee):** The following Messages have been received from the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, namely:—

#### “Message.

(i) The Bengal Municipal (Amending) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 26th November, 1953, has been duly signed by me and is annexed

herewith. The concurrence of the West Bengal Legislative Council to the Bill is requested.

CALCUTTA,

The 27th November, 1953.

S. K. MUKHERJEE,

Speaker,

West Bengal Legislative Assembly.”

#### “Message.

(ii) The annexed motion was passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 26th November, 1953, and is sent to the West Bengal Legislative Council for their concurrence and for communication to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly of the names of the Members appointed by the West Bengal Legislative Council to the Joint Committee.

#### Annexure.

(i) That the Bengal Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1953, be referred to a Joint Committee of the Houses consisting of 23 Members; 19 Members from this House, namely:—

1. Dr. Narayan Chandra Ray.
2. Sj. Biren Banerjee.
3. Sj. Sudhir Chandra Ray Chaudhuri.
4. Dr. Srikumar Banerjee.
5. Sj. Madan Mohan Khan.
6. Sj. Biren Roy.
7. Janab S. M. Abdullah.
8. Sj. Sankar Prasad Mitra.
9. Sj. Mahendra Nath Mahata.
10. Janab Maziruddin Ahmed.
11. Sj. Sashibhusan Khan.
12. Sj. Koustav Kanti Karan.
13. Sj. Rabindra Nath Sikder.
14. Sj. Bimalananda Tarkatirtha.
15. Dr. Beni Chandra Dutt.
16. Sj. Satindra Nath Basu.
17. Sj. Bejoy Krishna Sarkar.
18. Sj. Priya Ranjan Sen.
19. The Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Local Self-Government Department, and 4 Members from the Council.

(ii) That in order to constitute a sitting of the Joint Committee, the quorum shall be one-third of the total number of Members of the Joint Committee;

(iii) That the Committee shall make a report to this House by the 8th February, 1954;

(iv) That in other respects the rules and procedure of this House relating to Committees will apply with such variations and modifications as the Speaker may make; and

(v) That this House recommends to the Council that the Council do join in the said Joint Committee and communicate to this House the names of Members to be appointed by the Council to the Joint Committee.

CALCUTTA,

*The 27th November, 1953.*

S. K. MUKHERJEE,

*Speaker,*

*West Bengal Legislative Assembly."*

[3.40—3.45 p.m.]

#### GOVERNMENT BILLS.

##### **The Bengal Municipal (Amending) Bill, 1953.**

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Municipal (Amending) Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration.

Sir, it is a short Bill. Under the present Act the appointed Commissioners have got a life-time of two years. It has been found by experience that within two years we cannot complete the election and in several cases we had to extend the time by a year. We still find that in the case of some municipalities they have not yet been able to complete the preliminaries necessary for election. Therefore Government proposes that the time may be extended from time to time but the total aggregate should not

exceed more than two years and that is what I am asking the House to consider.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

#### *Clauses 1-3.*

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

#### *Preamble.*

The question that the Preamble do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

#### **The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:**

Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Municipal (Amending) Bill, 1953, as settled in the Council, be passed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

##### **The West Bengal Estates Acquisition Bill, 1953.**

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Estates Acquisition Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration.

In May, 1793, Lord Cornwallis introduced the system of Permanent Settlement in the place of the system then in vogue. We are about to abolish the Cornwallis pattern of land-holding by a plan which will bring the cultivator in direct relationship with the State.

The system which is about to be replaced was evolved in order to divert the people of the State to agricultural pursuits and to annihilate initiative and capacity to develop trade and industry. By reason of canalising the activities of the people of the State a peculiar social and economic life in the rural community has grown. There is



[The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu.]

another factor which lent support to the preservation of the old tenure system, and that is the security which the land afforded to the investors. The available capital was thus locked up in land, and no impetus was given to trade and industry for several decades. There is no doubt that the condition of our cultivators who form the majority of the rural population of the State has deteriorated from generation to generation owing to ever-increasing pressure on land and the time has come when they should be rehabilitated and offered new, and a variety of, opportunity to develop the country and rebuild its economic structure on the path of progress and prosperity.

[3.45—3.50 p.m.]

The initiative of the landlords in the matter of developing the resources of the country has also been destroyed. Imperceptibly, the forces of disintegration have enfeebled and imperilled the economy of the State. We are in search of an effective remedy. Our land-holding system was, from time to time, re-modelled in order to suit the purposes of the exploiters for the time being. What was suitable for a colonial economy and a moribund social order must now be discarded, and radical changes must be brought about in order to establish a congenial social order. It is essential that, after providing for an equitable distribution of land among the cultivators, the activity of the population must be diverted to trade and industry. It is necessary that the assets and energy of the land-holders should be diverted to industrial and commercial enterprises. This will secure to us not only better and more extensive employment, but will also improve the economy of the State and its agricultural production. I have no doubt that in the changed circumstances when ready money will be available to outgoing land-holders they will utilise the same in build-

concerns in the interest of themselves and the working classes. Inaction will be dangerous. We must face the hazards of trade, commerce and industry in order to bring prosperity and progress and of course we must take courage in both hands and forge our way forward. Our salvation lies in our own efforts and in the mobilization of our capital, man-power and other resources.

The old system having outlived its usefulness, there has been a progressive demand for land reforms by almost all classes of the people in the State. The new land reforms have been for many years advocated and canvassed intensively by the Congress. On 5th November, 1938, the State Government appointed a Commission of Enquiry under the chairmanship of Sir Francis Floud to examine the existing Land Revenue system. One of the objects of the investigation was whether it was possible to acquire the interest of big land-holders in agricultural lands and to eliminate them. The Commission reported that the zemindary system had developed many defects and had stifled the enterprise or initiative of all classes concerned and ceased to serve any national interest. The Commission recommended by its report published in 1940 that a policy should be adopted to acquire the interests of rent-receivers so as to bring the cultivators into the position of tenants holding directly under the Government. The question of abolition of zemindary system was examined also by committees set up in other States and by the Agrarian Reforms Committee. They also agreed that the system should be abolished.

In 1949, another Committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Sir Archibald Rowland which also recommended that the existing Land System should go.

It must be admitted that without the elimination of the zemindary system no co-ordinated plan for improvement of agriculture and

After giving the matter careful and anxious consideration and keeping in view the provisions of the Constitution, the Bill was drawn up, so that there may not be any impediment or delay in implementing the same. A plan has been conceived so that the first stage of land reforms, at any rate, may be achieved without encountering much obstacle or opposition and without delay.

[3-50—3-55 p.m.]

You are aware that the Acts passed in other States merely provide for the acquisition of the interests of the intermediary, whereas the measures which have been decided upon by this Government are to acquire not only rent-receiving interests but also surplus lands in the hands of land-holders in excess of the ceiling. Acquisition of rent-receiving interests is one phase of the matter. Sir, in order to make effective distribution of land among the cultivators, it is essential that after allowing the large land-holders to retain possession of some land to meet their reasonable requirements the surplus land should be made available for division among the cultivators. You will agree that those who are in *khas* possession of large areas of land should be allowed to retain some part of it so that such owners, at any rate, may have an income for their sustenance by a proper use of such land. The peculiar system of land tenure which is different in many respects from that in the rest of India has added to our difficulties. The purpose of the present Bill is to achieve the first stage of the land reforms. It is needless to say that owing to non-availability of all the necessary facts and data in our hands we have not been able to present the Land Reforms Bill in the current session of the State Legislature. The present Bill is only a means to an end. It is intended to prepare the ground for the introduction of the radical and beneficial change in the system of land holdings and utilisation of

land in the State. This Government has come to a tentative decision as to the pattern of agricultural economy which will be evolved out of the abolition of the present system. The two Bills will be complementary to each other and will be implemented simultaneously. In our effort to bring about land reforms it is important to bear in mind that all necessary precautions should be taken so that there may be an evolution in our rural economy. A revolution with uncertain results should be avoided. The experiment will affect a majority of the population of the State and will also tax the financial and administrative resources thereof, and therefore caution has to be exercised, and an irrevocable decision however has been taken and we shall proceed to put into execution a plan of reforms which has been conceived. If there is a risk, it must be faced with courage and confidence, for there is conviction in the decision which has been taken. The foundation for the new order must be well laid and the superstructure must be well conceived. The task which has been undertaken by this Government is a formidable one, and I have no doubt that the members of the Council will lend their support and co-operation to the establishment of a better economic and social order in the State. The demand for abolition of the system has been made because the psychological change which will result therefrom is bound to bring about better production. A mere transfer of authority from the landlord to the State will not bring about the desired effect. The present Bill will enable us to overcome the first hurdle. In working it out we will be able to collect facts and data upon which the new system will be based. The second Bill which has been proposed to be introduced will deal with land reforms including the distribution of land, the terms and conditions of the tenancy, rents, if any, which would be payable by the tenants, the position of *bargadars* under the new scheme, the manner in which small farmers

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will get financial and other resources for the purpose of improved cultivation, and the assistance which may be given to them for irrigating and manuring the land, the manner of bringing about co-operative agricultural organisations through which small holders can till the soil scientifically and effectively using modern contrivances to increase production and market their produce, and the establishment of modern and sound agricultural economy. I have indicated some of the features of the supplementary legislation. It is also essential to bear in mind the measures which have to be adopted to secure to uneconomic holders of land subsidiary income for comfortable living. Having regard to the considerable pressure on land in the State which is small in size, there is greater need for intensive cultivation to produce the maximum yield.

[3-55—4 p.m.]

Any ill-conceived plan may seriously affect production and we must guard against any possible adverse effect on the agricultural production. Sir, having regard to the fact that there is diversity of interest in land in the State, it is not to be expected that the Bill will meet with the universal approval of or satisfy all shades of opinion.

The Constitution has imposed certain limitations as regards the acquisition of lands and interests therein. It is futile to pass any enactment which will in any way militate against the provisions of the Constitution. The definition of "intermediary" contained in the Bill has been moulded so as not to be repugnant to the Constitution, although we are anxious to cover all the categories of rent-receivers. You are aware that in this State there is a large section of owners known as *jotedar* who do not themselves cultivate lands but hold by far the greater proportion of culti-

vated lands. Unless certain restrictions are imposed with regard to the holdings of this class of owners, not much land will be available for redistribution; accordingly provision has been made in the Bill for the acquisition of such lands held by this class of persons in excess of a maximum ceiling. We have endeavoured to do so without doing violence to the Constitution. Efforts will also be made to induce the Central Government to amend the Constitution to enable acquisition of the rent-receiving interest of *jotedars*, *laddars*, *raiyats* and *under-raiyats* and also their *khas* possessions above the ceiling without straining the resources of the State. The object may be achieved by including the present enactment in Schedule IX to the Constitution, to enable acquisition to be made on payment of compensation in terms of clause 16 of the Bill and attracting the provisions of Article 31A of the Constitution or an amendment thereof. Having regard to the frame of the Constitution, there cannot be expropriation.

At this stage, permit me to enumerate the principal features of the Bill. The basic principles are that all lands should belong to the Government, that there will be no intervening rent-receiving interests between the cultivator and the State and the lands will be held by the cultivators as tenants directly under the State and that certain types of lands as specified in clause 6(1) will be allowed to be retained on payment of rent.

It is essential that some exceptions must be made for practical reasons, and in order to make the evolution from one system to another easy and successful, in the matter of payment of compensation, a rational table has been adopted whereby the poor middle classes will receive somewhat liberal compensation and the big proprietors will have to make substantial sacrifices.

Provisions have also been made as regards mines and minerals. A Mines Tribunal will be established

to determine disputes which may arise in relation to mines and minerals.

There is a provision that until compensation is ascertained, the landlords will be given an *ad interim* payment approximately equal to one-third of their net annual income. This will alleviate any hardship which may be experienced by the holders of lands during the period of transition.

By now you must be familiar with the other provisions of the Bill.

There is a chapter dealing with the preparation or revision of record-of-rights. The operations are essential for the purpose of finally determining the persons entitled to compensation, the rent or its equivalent in money for the purpose of determining the quantum of compensation, the interests of the outgoing intermediaries, the money value of such interests, the persons who will hold land under the new system as direct tenants under the State and other particulars which are essential to implement the new system of land tenure. The importance and necessity of the operation can be well conceived from the fact that the records were prepared from, I believe, 1904 to 1940 and are fairly ancient and unsuitable for the purpose of achieving the pattern of land reforms in view.

Specific dates or periods have been fixed for different operations under the legislation. The date of vesting has been fixed and a period has also been fixed for completion of preparation or revision of the record-of-rights.

[4—4.5 p.m.]

Provision has also been made for the payment of a part of the compensation in cash.

The Act will be administered principally by revenue executive officers. It is therefore essential that their action should be subject to scrutiny by judicial tribunals. Provision has therefore been made for appeals to judicial officers and in some cases to the High Court.

Further, provision has been made for transference of management to a statutory authority.

The Bill was examined by the Joint Committee of the two Houses of the Legislature, and it was considered with meticulous care in its passage through the Legislative Assembly in course of which certain changes were made in the text of the Bill.

The Joint Select Committee held 14 sittings and disposed of 179 proposed amendments to the Bill. It was considered in the Assembly for ten days and about four hundred further amendments were disposed of.

The fundamental problem which baffles solution is the pressure of population on the land. It is necessary that intensive cultivation should go on in order to increase production. Provision has therefore been made that if the land which is retained is not cultivated within a fixed period or utilised for gainful or productive purpose within the specified time, the State will resume possession of the same.

In regard to compensation we have kept in view the provisions of the Constitution. The rates of compensation for lower income groups have been enhanced considerably, while a corresponding reduction has been made in the rates of the higher income groups so that the intermediaries will have a reasonable means of rehabilitating themselves. A rational system of compensation has been provided. Our table of compensation compares favourably with the rates decided upon by the other States. It does not depend upon any arbitrary or capricious rule or valuation. A slab system of assessment is provided for. You are aware that in the matter of assessment of income-tax a discrimination is made between grades of income so that a proportionately bigger assessment is made in cases of higher incomes than in regard to lower income groups. Provision has also been made for payment of a portion of the compensation

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money in cash and the rest in bonds carrying interest at 3 per cent. per annum.

Until the record-of-rights are completed, interim payments will be made. There is a provision that the record should be brought up to date within a period of three years.

Substantial changes have been made in the provisions relating to mines and minerals. Compensation payable to them has been reduced to a maximum of eight and four times the net income.

Sir, I lay emphasis on the fact that the Bill is intended to usher in a new era. Prudent utilisation of land to the utmost capacity must be stimulated. This can only be done by eliminating the rent-receiving interests and bringing the cultivators in direct touch with the State. We are starting a new chapter in the history of our land system. We are about to undertake a great and momentous experiment and have to choose and evolve a system which will lead to prosperity and progress and will eradicate the evils of the out-moded system and bring new life and enthusiasm into the rural people and divert the attention of the land-holders to increased trade and industry. Social justice demands that a radical change must be made.

I therefore make an appeal to this House that honourable members will earnestly attempt to co-operate with the Government in solving these very difficult problems. The Bill does not claim to be a complete solution of our complex rural problems; nor is it claimed that it will cure all the existing ills in our rural economy. It is hoped, however, that with the co-operation of all the members of the Legislature and of the public it will be possible to ameliorate the condition of the cultivators and the poor middle-class families. There must be factual appreciation of the state of things in existence at the present moment and the approach to the

problems must be realistic. The land resources of the State are not sufficient to satisfy the land hunger of our ever-increasing population. We must integrate land reforms with other developments in the State. It may perhaps be useful to place before you certain figures to enable you to judge what the problems are and their magnitude.

[4-5—4-10 p.m.]

In West Bengal, there are 117 lakh acres of cultivated land. The total cultivable land is about 128.5 lakh acres. The population is 2½ crores. There are about 18.2 lakh families who are cultivating owners and their dependants; 6.9 lakh families are *bargadars* and their dependants; 7 lakh families are landless labourers. Out of 117 lakh acres of cultivated land, 4 lakh acres are held by intermediaries, 105 lakh acres are likewise held by *raiyyats* and 8 lakh acres by under-*raiyyats*. It appears that the number of families holding land in excess of 25 acres is 4 lakh or 2 lakh people who own 13.2 lakh acres. Therefore, even if a ceiling for holding land is placed as low as possible consistent with efficient farming and reasonable requirements of the cultivating families, it will not be possible to provide each landless family with a holding or to increase the size of the existing uneconomic holding to an appreciable extent, unless a substantial proportion of the population is diverted from land to other gainful occupation. The paramount question is how to provide employment and sufficient means of livelihood for the surplus population which can no longer be supported by land. The difficulties of implementing the measure are to be faced boldly and with confidence. The problems have to be tackled with determination and zeal.

I earnestly hope that my honourable friends from all sides of the House will consider and weigh every provision of the Bill dispassionately and clamly regardless of any political bias. With these words, I commend my motion for the consideration of the Bill as passed by the Assembly.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, with regard to this motion, there is a lot of controversy.

**Mr. Chairman:** Are you going to move your amendment or you are speaking in general terms? Your amendment, as it stands, is out of order, as you have not mentioned the date by which the report should be submitted to the House. But you can speak on the general motion.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** All right, Sir. Now, Sir, it is a historical truth that Lord Cornwallis evolved the plan of the Permanent Settlement in 1793 for his double-edged purpose—Government's economic stability and political dominance. By this system a class of parasites was created in the society who began to live on exploitation. In a century the peasantry came to a gasping stage for this feudal exploitation and the eyes of the national and political leaders of our country were attracted to this horrible condition. Since then the abolition of zemindary system which is in the root of many ills of our country had been the cry of the Congress leaders as well as the progressive people. The Congress stuck to its gun till 1947 and promised the agricultural populace with flamboyant phrases. They managed to forget their promises when they came to power and wanted time for improving the lot of the peasantry. Even in the last General Election they reiterated their promise from different platforms. In almost all the provinces of India the Congress Governments have come out with a piece of legislation for bettering the condition of the exploiters further in the garb of zemindary abolition.

[4-10—4-15 p.m.]

But these plans being unworkable are getting moth-eaten. Our West Bengal Government have at last appeared in the scene with a mutilated piece of legislation which is alleged to be the first part in the reform of the land tenure system. From this we

can of course easily surmise what its other part is going to be, and I think the other part is going to be out on the eve of the next examination in 1956. Sir, the Government is trying to create a fuss over this unimportant piece of legislation, unimportant because of the form in which they have brought it and in which they have placed it before the House. If we analyse the said Bill, it will be found that this Bill does not aim at rendering relief to the distressed men behind the plough, but on the contrary provides the zemindars and the zemindars' orphans of course with rooks. By this Bill the State becomes the feudal lord but there is no provision for the distribution of land amongst the cultivators, the major portion of whom are landless. If no system of land to the tillers is adopted which is the cardinal point in the present land tenure system, the real problem is avoided. So, this Bill is incomplete and useless from that point of view. Secondly, the most objectionable item in this Bill is the provision for liberal compensation to many of the high income groups, to the feudal exploiters. There is no justification why the blessed should be bestowed with further blessings and the cursed with more curses. The landlords have reaped many crops in their long possession and they should not be allowed with any additional funds for retiring them from their sinecure engagements. Thirdly, Sir, there is no ground why Calcutta and Tollygunge should be exempted from the scope of this Bill—fisheries and tea gardens too. This is nothing but providing the rich with further sops. Fourthly, provision has been made for compensation at a huge scale to the coal miners. Besides the above, an elaborate arrangement has been made for filtering the benefits through the various provisions of this Bill in favour of the zemindars and the feudal nobles of our country. However, if this Government does not change their angle of vision, this sort of Bill is bound to appear. So, the moot point is that the Congress Government should

[Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty.]

change their angle of vision radically. The present Congress Government is pursuing a policy which is quite detrimental and opposed to the interests of the general people of our country. So, this Bill has been nothing more than a mere double-Dutch. Our Congress Government has not even the courage to line with the liberal suggestions of the Floud Commission of the British regime. So, Sir, in my opinion this Bill should have been recommitted. I proposed an amendment that it should have been recommitted because the Government later on adopted some amendments which the Select Committee disapproved. That is why I plead that the Bill should be recommitted for some time so that some more consideration may be given to this Bill. I think, therefore, Sir, that even at this late stage, if the Government really wants to solve the land tenure problem of our country, they should re-examine the Bill, and for that I oppose the Bill in its present form.

[4-15—4-20 p.m.]

### 8]. Annada Prosad Choudhuri :

মাননীয় সভাপতি মহাশয়, আজ আমাদের সমক্ষে যে জমিদারী উচ্ছেদ বিল উপস্থাপিত করা হয়েছে, তা ঋণীপূর্ণ হলেও আমরা স্বীকৃত। কারণ এ বিল ভবিষ্যতে আমাদের দেশের কৃষকদের জন্য ভূমি বণ্টন ব্যবস্থার সূচনা করছে। কিন্তু স্যার, মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয়কে বলব,—যে ক্ষুদ্র জমিদারদের হাত থেকে জমি নিয়ে প্রজাব হাতে, কৃষকের হাতে দিয়ে দিলেই তাদের দুঃখ হুচলবে না। কাবণ, আমরা জানি, আমাদের দেশে যে খাস মহল আছে সেখানে গভর্ণমেন্ট ও কৃষকের মধ্যে আর কোন মধ্যস্থত্ব নাই, সেখানে খাস মহলের প্রজা যে খুব সূখে আছে, তা আমরা বলতে পারি না। তাই জমি, জমিদারের হাত থেকে নিয়ে, কৃষকে মালিক করে দিলে, এবং মধ্যস্থত্ব লোপ করলেই প্রজাব যে দুঃখ হুচলবে তা আমরা মনে করি না। কিন্তু মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলেছেন যে এই বিল পাশ করলে কৃষকের মনে উৎসাহের সঞ্চার হবে। কিন্তু সেই উৎসাহের সঞ্চার যে কি করে হবে তার কোন রেখা বা ইঙ্গিত এখানে পাচ্ছি না। জমির উন্নতি করতে হলে কৃষকের মনে

উৎসাহ সঞ্চার করার জন্য কিছু কিছু পবিকল্পনার কথা বলা হয়েছে—যথা সার ব্যবহার, জলসেচের ব্যবস্থা করা, এবং তাদের কিছু কিছু স্বল্প স্ববিধার বন্দোবস্ত করাও আবশ্যিক। কিন্তু জমিদারী প্রথা থাকা সময়েও এই সব ব্যবস্থা প্রচলিত ছিল, কৃষকেরাও মনে উৎসাহ পায় নাই। এবং সেই উৎসাহ সঞ্চার করার জন্য আজ যেমন জমিদারী প্রথা লোপ করা হচ্ছে, তাই আমরা আশাকরি জমিদারী প্রথা লোপ করার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে কৃষকদের মনে উৎসাহ সঞ্চারের জন্য কিছু কিছু বাস্তব পবিকল্পনা যেন গ্রহণ করা হয়; নৈলে জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদ হবার পর, মধ্যস্থত্ব লোপ হবার পর, এমন কি অবস্থা সৃষ্টি হবে বলে মন্ত্রীমহাশয় মনে করেন যে কৃষকেরা উৎসাহিত বোধ করবে। আপনি, স্যার, বুঝতে পারছেন কিনা জানি না, আমরা ত বুঝতে পারি না।

তাবপরে, স্যার, এই বিল যদি পাশ হয় তাবমধ্যে ক্ষুদ্র ক্ষুদ্র কয়েকটা অস্ববিধা আছে,—আমি আইনের তর্ক তুলব না। তাড়াহুড়া করে এই বিল আনা হয়েছে বলে সরকারপক্ষ অনেকগুলি সংশোধনী অর্থাৎ “এমেন্ডমেন্ট” এনেছেন। কিন্তু কতকগুলি বিষয় যা নাকি আমাদের সাধারণের চোখে পড়ে তাব প্রতি আমি সরকারের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করতে চাই। এই যে ওঁরা “কম্পেনসেশন”ের টাক নিৰ্দ্ধারণ করেছেন,—আমরা “কম্পেনসেশন” আদৌ দেব কিনা, দেবাব আমাদের সঙ্গতি আছে কিনা, সে বিষয় আমি পরে বলছি। কিন্তু যদি “কম্পেনসেশন” দেয়া হয়, তাহলে, এই বিলে বিধান আছে—যদি কোন লোক সেটা “কমিউট” করে মোট টাকা থেকে কিছু অংশ বাদ দিয়ে যদি বাকি টাকটা একত্র নিয়ে নিতে চান, তা নিতে পারবেন। কিন্তু সরকার বলছেন যে জমিদারদের নানান “গেন্ডল অকুপেশন”এর মধ্যে ওঁরা আনতে চান, এবং জমিদারেরা জমিদারী উচ্ছেদের পর যে টাকটা পাবেন, তাযারা দেশে নানা বকমব্যবসা বানিজ্য গড়ে তুলবেন। কিন্তু যদি কোন জমিদার—যাঁদের আমাদের দেশে থেকে জমিদারী পবিবর্ত্তে ব্যবসা চালিয়ে যাবার কথা—তাঁদের কেউ যদি জমিদারী উচ্ছেদের পর “কমিউট” করে টাকা নিয়ে বিদেশে চলে যান তাহলে “কম্পেনসেশনের” টাকায় আমাদের এখানে যে শিল্প বানিজ্যের উন্নতি হবে তাব কি “গ্যারান্টি” আমাদের থাকতে পারে? উচ্ছেদের পর “কম্পেনসেশন” দেবাব আমাদের সামর্থ্য আছে কিনা সে প্রশ্ন না তুলেও বলব, যদি আমরা দিই তাহলে এখানে আমাদের এইরকম একটা ব্যবস্থা করা উচিত যে, যে টাকা আমরা দেব, সে

টাকাটা আমাদের ভবিষ্যৎ শিল্প প্রসারের বাবা অর্থোন্নতির কাজে লাগবে,—সে বিষয়ে সুনিশ্চিত হওয়া যায়।

তাবপবে দ্বিতীয় কথা হচ্ছে, চেম্বারম্যান মহাশয়, জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদ করতে গিয়ে ওঁরা একটা সংশোধনী এনেছেন যে কলকাতা ও টালিগঞ্জ এই বিলের আওতা থেকে বাদ থাকবে। এবিষয়ে আমাদের বক্তব্য হচ্ছে, যদি আমরা মনে কবি জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদ কবে দিলে কৃষকদের মনে উৎসাহ সঞ্চার করা যাবে, কলকাতা ও টালিগঞ্জে কৃষক নাই বলে এই বিলের মধ্যে কলিকাতা ও টালিগঞ্জকে যোগ করে দেবার কোন কারণ নাই। কিন্তু আমরা যদি মনে কবি যে আমরা ভবিষ্যৎ যাত্রাপথে সন্ধ্যের দিকে এগিয়ে চলব, তাহলে কলকাতা ও টালিগঞ্জকে বাদ দেয়া যায় না। আর যদি মনে করি শুধু কৃষকদের মনেই উৎসাহ সঞ্চার কবর তাহলে কলকাতা সচবকে অবমোহা ধরা উচিত নয়।

তাবপবে একটা মৌলিক কথা,—সেটা হচ্ছে কতিপূর্বের কথা। আমরা যে ঘটনার ফলে আজ এইভাবে এখানে মিলিত হয়েছি, সেই ১৯৪২ সালের আলোচনের যখন প্রস্ততি চলছিল, তখন আমাদের অনেক বন্ধু তাব বিরোধীতা কবেছিলেন জানি; সেই সময় আমেরিকার একজন প্রসিদ্ধ সাংবাদিক লুই ফিলার সেবাগ্রাম আশ্রমে মহাত্মা গান্ধির সঙ্গে সপ্তাহকাল ছিলেন, সেখানে থেকে তিনি যে বই লিখে গেছেন তাতে জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদ সম্বন্ধে মহাত্মাজীব সঙ্গে তাঁর যে কথা হয়, তাতে এই “কম্পেনসেশন”র কথাও উল্লিখিত রয়েছে। সেইটে, স্যার, আপনার অনুমতিক্রমে এখানে পড়ে শোনাচ্ছি—

[4-20—4-25 p.m.]

Louis Fischer asked, “How do you actually see your impending civil disobedience movement? What shape will it take in the villages?” Gandhi said, “The peasants in the villages will stop paying taxes. They will make salt despite official prohibition. This seems to be a small matter; the salt tax yields only a paltry sum to the British Government but the refusal to pay will give the peasant courage to comprehend that he is capable of independent action. The next step will be to seize the land”. “There may be violence”, I asked. He replied, “But then the landlords may co-operate”. “You are an

optimist”, I say, “they might co-operate by fleeing from Gandhi”. Nehru who had been by his side said, “They might vote for confiscation with their legs just as you say in your ‘Men and Politics’—as Lenin put it—the Russian soldier voted for peace with his legs in 1917. He ran away from the trench. So also the Indian landowners might vote for confiscation of their lands by running away from their villages or they might organise violent resistance”. “There may be 15 days of chaos”, Gandhi speculated, “but I think we will soon bring it under control”. “You feel then that it must be confiscation without compensation”, I asked. “Of course”. Gandhi replied—a votary of non-violence—“it would be financially impossible for anybody to compensate the landlords”. “That accounts for the villages”, I said, “but that is not for all of India”.

তাই, স্যার, আজ “কম্পেনসেশন” দেওয়া এবং তাব জন্য যে “চল্লন্” করা হয়েছে, সেইটের দিকে আমি সরকার ও মহানবহাশয়ের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করে বলছি, আজ কংগ্রেসের যিনি প্রেসিডেন্ট ও কংগ্রেস সভাপতি যিনি প্রধানমন্ত্রী সেই নেতৃক যিনি এই আলোচনার সময় উপস্থিত ছিলেন, এই কংগ্রেস গান্ধিয়ান ডিমোক্রেসির নামে নির্বাচন পরিচালনা করেছেন, তাঁরা যে “কন্সটিটুশন” কবেছেন, সেই “কন্সটিটুশনে”এর বিধির নামেই বিলের দ্বারা যদি কৃষকদের মনে উৎসাহ সঞ্চার কবতে চান, তাহলে আমি বলব তা এ বিলের মধ্যে নাই, তাহলে আরো কিছু করে, জনসাধারণের মনে, কৃষকদের মনে সত্য সত্যই যাতে উৎসাহের সঞ্চার কবতে পাওয়া যায় সেই চেষ্টা করুন।

**Sj. Sankar Das Banerji:** Sir, I wish to say a few words in support of the Bill which has been introduced by the Government. Sir, there is no doubt that for a large number of years people in general have been clamouring that it would best serve the interests of the country and the people if the zemindary system is abolished. It is to meet that demand that the Bengal Government has introduced this piece of legislation. Sir, I would not be very long about it but



[Sj. Sankar Das Banerji.]

I wish to say a few words in defence of the zemindars.

[4-25—4-30 p.m.]

I heard the honourable member say that the zemindars have all been parasites and exploiters. A general sweeping observation to that effect is wholly without foundation. Such a remark would only be made because of colossal ignorance or because the honourable member is wholly prejudiced against the class which is known as zemindars. Everybody conversant with Bengal knows the late Sir Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy; his charities are well known, his attempts to benefit the country is well known. Raja Joykissen Mukharji and Raja Peary Mohan Mukharji and many other names are well known to the country. But we do not need zemindars today and that is why in the interest of the country we abolish the system. It is wrong to think that each and every zemindar is very bad or a parasite. I have known zemindars—(Dr. MONINDRA MOHAN CHAKRABARTY: There may be exceptions.) Sir, there are good people and there are bad people and there are good people among the zemindars and there are bad zemindars. There are notable institutions—educational institutions which they established for free spread of education. They established schools, colleges, hospitals and many other public institutions. Of course we do not want the zemindars today, but there is no reason why we should use harsh and cruel remarks against them.

There is another point, Sir, which I wish to touch. Nobody can deny that everybody in India has been demanding the abolition of this system. Uttar Pradesh have introduced it, Orissa have introduced it, Bihar have introduced and we have also introduced it at last and we hope, Sir, that the people in this country will be benefited by this abolition. People came to possess these lands because they

paid good money for them and people who were in possession of the lands during 1793 are not there. Some of them have sold their lands from time to time and other people have acquired and they have acquired these lands in the same way as people acquire other types of properties. Needs of the country now demand the abolition of the system. We have to take it upon ourselves to abolish the system. Now that the Government have introduced this piece of legislation for introducing this system for abolition, there is a cry to send it back. Government were accused of delay in regard to this matter both in this House and also in the newspapers, they were guilty of gross delay, etc., and so they have placed this Bill before the Legislature. It is well known to our friends here that a Joint Select Committee was chosen consisting of a very large number of members, 29 in number. The members of the Select Committee were recruited to represent every shade of political view and taken from both the Houses. Communists were invited, our friends—members of other political parties—were also invited, they all took part, the deliberations went on for very nearly 20 days—I do not guarantee the number of days, but it is very nearly that.

[4-30—4-35 p.m.]

Every day 3 to 4 hours were spent to discuss the Bill clause by clause and after consulting and taking into account every view the Select Committee made a report. After the Select Committee made a report, Sir, the matter came up before the Lower House. To meet the demands of the opposition and many of our friends there, the Government accepted many amendments introduced by them, and at the end, Sir, it is common knowledge that everybody said that it was a fine piece of legislation, the Government had done at last some good for the country. Today you come forward and say that it is a mutilated piece of legislation—it beats me completely. How it is mutilated, one

wonders. Of course Dr. Chakrabarty has chosen not to give any reason why he considers it to be mutilated. Now, of course, to call it mutilated, I cannot see any reason whatsoever except that he considers that all the lands have not been confiscated and distributed to members of the public, that no compensation should be paid—if that is his point of view and if those things have not found a place in the Bill and if that is the reason why he considers it mutilated, it is an entirely different matter. Everybody's interest has been taken into account. We must say this that the zemindars are as good or as bad citizens as every one of us. If we are going to take away their property in the best interests of the State, in the interests of the public, they are entitled to some compensation; there is not the slightest doubt about it. Sir, the ordinary law relating to compensation is under the Land Acquisition Act. But it was decided that the zemindars should not be paid in the same way as every other citizen. It was scaled down, and scaled down considerably, and the amount that has been fixed by the Government is the lowest possible sum that could be thought of—for instance, for the largest income only two times. Sir, I do not wish to place my view in the matter because any and everybody who parts with his property is entitled to be paid 16 annas in the rupee, but the reason why it has been scaled down is that this Government cannot afford to pay 16 annas in the rupee, and that is the reason why they are being paid less. When you acquire property in Calcutta, why do you pay according to the Land Acquisition Act? Why do you try to compensate them properly and pay them something extra for forcible acquisition? The zemindars are not criminals but, as I say, in the best interests of the country their properties have been taken, and I support the Government, Sir, in this measure. The Government had to do it and the Government has done it, but the Government is bound to be fair and square to every one of

the citizens. Sir, I found in the course of his address that our honourable friend Mr. Choudhuri did not quite see the logic behind this piece of legislation. But as far as I can see it is like this. When the zemindaries go, the Government is going to give quite a fair quantity of land. This quantity of land which will be available immediately after this Bill comes into force will be distributed amongst the landless labourers. Sir, if I may say so, the Government cannot manufacture land. Whatever lands are available would be made available to the landless labourers. Take, for instance, Chapter VI of this Bill. When effect is given to that, a very large number of people will lose their land. Again, in the best interests of the country, for giving land to the landless labourer, land will be taken back. It will be impossible to determine and tell you today how much land is going to be available, how much land can be distributed *per capita*—that is almost an impossible thing to say today. But the object of the Government is, Sir, to make available as much land as is possible to the landless labourer.

[4-35—4-40 p.m.]

If the Government makes endeavours from time to time I have no doubt that they will be able to meet the needs of the people to a very great extent. But today, Sir, we all know the position of Bengal, if I may say so, the unfortunate position of Bengal. We have lost about two-thirds of this State. A large number of refugees who are our own people are now in West Bengal without lands. But when we take statistics into account it is equally true that we could not provide each and every landless labourer with the requisite cultivable land which may be an economic piece of land for the purpose of making them self-sufficient. It is an impossibility. That thing can never be achieved until other adjustments are made. I am not going to say anything about other adjustments and so on. As matters stand the object of the Government

[Sj. Sankar Das Banerji.]

is to provide a landless labourer with such land as would be available and as could be acquired in a proper way. Sir, I do not think I am going to take much of your time but I would say that this measure is an honest endeavour to meet the demands of the people and I have no doubt that if we proceed cautiously and surely we will do a great deal of benefit to this country.

**Sj. K. P. Chattopadhyay:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I consider this Bill as very unsatisfactory for certain specific reasons. Our friend who has just now spoken has stated that the zemindars have done a good deal of service and ought to get much larger compensation or rather they are getting very little compensation. Now when the present zemindary system came into existence about 150 years ago it was laid down that after deduction of expenses only 9 per cent. of the collection would go to the zemindars. No one ever gave them a right of having more but because it was permanent settlement in the course of 50 years that amount rose from 9 per cent. to something about 60 per cent. or 70 per cent. That was the unearned increment. This will be found in the report of the Flood Commission which has accepted, I may add, that for more than a century the zemindars have been enjoying this extra income. Now it is the accepted principle embodied in law that if you lend out money on interest you cannot realise more interest than the principal itself. The Money-lenders Bill was passed into an Act and has been in operation in this country.

**Sj. Sankar Das Banerji:** That is not a fact.

**Sj. K. P. Chattopadhyay:** Only in very limited cases lawyers will be able to find loopholes and that is how they make money.

**Sj. Sankar Das Banerji:** We do not accept the mis-statement of law.

**Sj. K. P. Chattopadhyay:** There are certain principles behind it. The zemindars have already had not

only sixteen annas worth of their property but sixteen hundred annas of their property. As regards the magnificent work done by them if you calculate the value of the income that they have got you will find that they gave much less than 10 per cent. I carried out some enquiry on this point and my friends might do well to check up. They might have excavated a tank here or established a school there. These are very little. They are proverbially to be equated to the giving away of a pair of shoes after killing the cow. The real agitation on behalf of the public was for bettering the conditions of the cultivators and the peasantry and not just for putting a little money into the pocket of the Government, not for giving them some extra revenue. We do not grudge the extra revenue if the revenue is spent for the welfare of the State.

[4.40—4.45 p.m.]

Actually the position at present or rather a few years ago was as follows:

Roughly speaking, three per cent. of the value of the gross produce comes to the State. Nine per cent. is taken by the zemindar. Thirty-eight per cent. goes to the *jotedar*. This is the report of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research—an officially recognised Governmental body. It is not a report of any Leftist or Rightist Organization. Now, the cost of cultivation is 38 per cent. according to another report of that body so that when a man who cultivates the land of another person, as *bargadar*, when he brings in his crop he gets about 62 per cent. of the gross value after deducting the cost. But he has to make over 50 per cent. to the owner and he gets about 12 per cent. for himself which is even less than what he would get as a labourer in our country. All that can be said is that in our country, in this particular State, the proportion of such men is very large and the large proportion of people who have a very small amount of land are compelled to take the land of

other persons on share basis. Take, for instance, the case of Midnapore district which has contributed brilliantly to the struggle for independence and which has given the Ministry stability. I will give you the figures. In Tamluk 30 per cent. of the cultivators were landless in 1945 and at present the percentage has gone up by about another 8, for Contai it is 25, for Sadar 39, for Ghatal 29. These were the statistics collected and the survey carried out in collaboration with the Indian Statistical Institute in 1945. In Nadia itself, on the other side of the river you will find 49 per cent. of people have no land in their possession and if you take the people who have less than three acres of land, in all these subdivisions the percentage comes from 54 to 89. You will, therefore, realize that the position of these people is very bad. You cannot have a peasantry which can contribute to the welfare of the country, which can feed itself and which can help us to build industries. It was to remove this state of affairs that the zemindars and other people were asked by the people to relinquish their estates so that redistribution of lands might take place. What has been done is nothing of the kind. What has taken place is that solely the zemindars' right is going to be taken up by the State. It means that the revenue which the State now gets being 3 per cent. will be increased by another 9 per cent.—less what would be paid as interest on their compensation. Well, this is not what the public has wanted. Half-truths are always worse than untruths. Half-measures are always worse than doing nothing or doing it properly a little later. As a matter of fact, there is no question of delay. There has been plenty of time to frame a proper Bill. What is the point in asking for more time? The Congress Party has been in power for more than four years and the Bill has been carefully discussed in twenty days' working for three hours a day, as stated, surely the Bill could have been drafted in our years' time.

I may add that there is nothing said about these *bargadars*. As the notes of dissent have pointed out also, their proportion, according to figures which are based on surveys, is roughly between 33 per cent. and 38 per cent. Well, I need not go into details but I should also like to point out the defect of the Bill in the matter of exclusion of fishery rights. Fishermen do need protection and so far as fishery rights are concerned, there is no law to protect the actual fishermen.

[4.45—4.50 p.m.]

During the last famine we checked up their condition and as a result of this we found that there was lack of any kind of right of tenure, any kind of protection. Hence these fishermen were very hard hit. Sir, nothing has been proposed to be done in this Bill also and I do not know why this should not be done. It is said that zemindaries belonging to firms will be excluded, why, I wonder. I have seen from the reports published by the Government of Bengal that peasants in these zemindaries were put to very great hardships. I do not know, Sir, why they are allowing this state of affairs to continue. Finally, you will find that in the matter of tea gardens, coal mines, they will continue to draw royalty or income but nothing will be done about their taking over by Government. They have been given a sort of *carte blanche*. Sir, these are very serious defects in the Bill—the Bill which has been ushered in with a lot of fanfare and beating of drums, that it will bring prosperity to the State and it will bring in a new era. I am afraid, Sir, it will not be able to improve the condition of the people by this Act.

#### Janab Abdul Halim:

মি: চেয়ারম্যান, স্যার, মাননীয় রাজস্বমন্ত্রী শ্রীযুক্ত সত্যেন্দ্রকুমার বসু মহাশয় "ওয়েষ্ট বেঙ্গল টেট এক্টিভিসিস বিল" অর্থাৎ জমিদারী বিলোপ বিল এখনো উপস্থাপিত কবেছেন। কিন্তু এই বিল মোটেই সন্তোষজনক নহে।

১৭৯৩ সালে, লর্ড কর্ণওয়ালিসের কবরের আঁচড়ে এই জমিদারী প্রথা ১৬০ বছর আগে স্থিতি

[Janab Abdul Halim.]

হয়ে বাংলাদেশে অনেক অত্যাচারের কাহিনী ও ইতিহাস স্মৃতি করেছে। চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তের বলে ও পরগাছা জমিদারদের নির্মম অত্যাচারের পাথরের চাপে আমাদের দেশের কৃষকশ্রেণী অসহ্য যন্ত্রনা ভোগ করেছে ও করছে। জমিদারী প্রথা ও জুলুমের বিরুদ্ধে বাংলার কৃষকরা বহু আন্দোলন ও অভিযান করেছে। “ইষ্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানীর” আমলের সময় থেকে বাংলার কৃষকের উপর নির্মম অত্যাচার হয়ে আসছে, যার অবসান আজও হয়নি। এই বিলেও সেই অবস্থার অবসান হবে বলে মনে হয় না।

এতদিন পরে কংগ্রেস সরকার তাদের বহু বিধে-  
বিত জমিদারী উচ্ছেদ বিলটি এখানে উপস্থাপিত  
করেছেন।

আমি এই বিলের সমালোচনা প্রসঙ্গে বলতে  
চাই যে কংগ্রেসী সরকার এই বিল উত্থাপন করে  
একটা ভ্রান্ত ধারণা সৃষ্টি করছেন যে এই বিল যেন  
ভূমি সংস্কারের পথে প্রথম পদক্ষেপ। কিন্তু ইহা  
প্রকৃত ঘটনা নহে।

এই বিল যেভাবে উপস্থাপিত করা হয়েছে তাতে  
প্রকৃতপক্ষে ভূমিসংস্কারের পথ রুদ্ধ করা হয়েছে।  
“গভর্নমেন্ট” বা করতে যাচ্ছেন তাহ’লে কৃষকদের  
হাত থেকে সরাসরি নিজেদের হাতে রাজনা আদায়ের  
অধিকার অর্জন করা।

এই বিলে প্রকৃতপক্ষে জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদ  
করা হচ্ছে না। ক্ষয়িষ্ণু জমিদারশ্রেণী বিচ্ছিন্ন-  
ভাবে যে শোষণ ব্যবস্থা কায়ম রাখতে পেরে উঠ-  
ছিল না তাকেই জীইয়ে রাখার জন্য “গভর্নমেন্ট”  
নিজেই অনেক মধ্যস্থত্বভোগী স্বলে একটা বৃহৎ  
সামন্ততান্ত্রিক জমিদারের আসন গ্রহণ করতে যাচ্ছেন।  
তাই আশঙ্কা হয়—এই বিলে জমিদারী প্রথার বিলোপ  
মোটাই হবে না, বরং পূর্ববৎ তা বয়েই যাবে।

“গভর্নমেন্ট” একটা বিরাট আমলাতান্ত্রিক “মেশি-  
নারি”; তাব হাতে জমিদারী ক্ষমতা এলে তাবা  
কৃষকদের উপর আবার জববদস্তিমূলক ও নির্মম হয়ে  
উঠবে। কৃষকের উপর জুলুমের মাত্রা বাড়বে বই  
কমবে না।

অসহনীয় রাজনার চাপে পশ্চিম বাংলার কৃষক  
স্ববাস্ত হয়ে যাচ্ছে। কৃষকের উপর ভারী রাজ-  
নার বোঝা চেপে রয়েছে। মোগল আমলের  
রাজনার ভাব বাহাল রেখে “ইষ্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানী”  
চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত করেছিল। বাংলার কৃষক ১৬০  
বৎসর ধাবৎ তার প্রতিকূল ভোগ করছে। আজ  
সেই রাজনার হারকে অপরিবর্তিত রেখেই কংগ্রেসী

সরকার জমিদারী বিলোপ আইন পাশ করাইবার  
চেষ্টা করছেন। প্রস্তাবিত বিলে রাজনা কমাবার  
কোন ব্যবস্থা নেই। কৃষকদের উপর যে ভারী  
রাজনার বোঝা চেপে আছে তা তেমনি থাকবে।  
প্রকৃতপক্ষে যাবা জমি চাষ করে সেই জমির উপর  
তাদের কোনো অধিকারই থাকবে না। অকৃষি-  
জমিদার, জোতদার, লাটদাররা পূর্বের মতই প্রভুত্ব  
পরিমাণ জমির মালিক থেকেই যাবে। ফলে জমির  
কোন উন্নতি হবে না। কৃষকদের দুঃখের বোঝা  
কমাবার কোনো ব্যবস্থা করা হবে না। বর্গাধার,  
ভাগচাষী জমি পাবে না।

কৃষি সমস্যার উপর জাতির সামগ্রিক সমস্যা  
নির্ভরশীল। কিন্তু চাষীর হাতে যথেষ্ট জমি নেই,  
বৈশীভাগ্য কৃষকই জমিহীন, ভাগচাষী ও বর্গাধার।  
জমির উপর জনসাধারণ চাপ ক্রমাগতই বেড়ে চলেছে।  
কৃষক-সমাজ নিঃশ্রম হয়েছে বলে শিল্পেরও বিকাশ  
হচ্ছে না। শিল্প ও বিভিন্ন পেশার জীবিকা নির্ভর  
হয় না বলে মধ্যবিত্তশ্রেণী ভূমির উপর নির্ভরশীলত  
কাটিয়ে উঠতে সমর্থ হচ্ছে না।

কৃষকরা বরাবর জমিদারের দাবা লুপ্তিত হয়ে  
আসছে। ইংরাজরা জমিদারদের উপর রাজনা আদা-  
য়ের দায়িত্ব চাপিয়ে দিয়ে নির্ধারিত তারিখের মধ্যে  
রাজস্ব আদায় করে নিত। জমিদারের শোষণে  
প্রত্যেক বছর ধানের বোঝা কৃষকের ঘাড়ে চেপে  
বসল—চাষীর জমিটুকু আস্তে আস্তে ধানের দা-  
জমিদার, জোতদার, লাটদারদের হাতে গিয়ে আদা-  
পড়ল। জমিদাররা মোগল আইনের নিয়ম কানু-  
বজায় বেধে প্রজা শোষণ চালু রাখল। এই বি-  
ভাব সমাধানের কোনো ব্যবস্থা নেই।

কৃষক ও জনসাধারণকে চিরস্থায়ী দুর্ভিক্ষের হা-  
থেকে বাঁচাবার কোন ব্যবস্থা এই বিলে হবে না  
বাংলাদেশে চিরস্থায়ী দুর্ভিক্ষ লেগেই আছে  
কৃষককে দুর্ভিক্ষের হাত থেকে বাঁচাতে হলে তা  
হাতে জমি দেওয়া চাই। সীমাবদ্ধভাবে এই বি-  
গ্রহণ করলেও ইহার প্রচুর জট বিচ্যুতি দেখা  
যেতে পাবে যেমন মিঃ মুখার্জি ও চৌধুরী “মিনি  
অফ ডিসপেন্স” দেখান হয়েছে।

জমির উপর কিস্তি চাপ পড়েছে তাহাব একটা  
হিসাব এখানে দিচ্ছি—জমির উপর চাপ বৃ-  
পাচ্ছে।

১৮৮১	.. ৫০ পার্সেন্টের নীচে
১৮৯১	.. ৬১.১ পার্সেন্টের নীচে
১৯০১	.. ৬৬.৫ পার্সেন্টের নীচে
১৯১১	.. ৭২.২ পার্সেন্টের নীচে
১৯২১	.. ৭৩.০ পার্সেন্টের নীচে

পাঁচ একর হিসাবে “ইকনমিক হোল্ডিং” ধরলে শতকরা ৭৩.৯ পার্সেন্ট এই “ইকনমিক হোল্ডিং” এর চেয়ে কম জমি রয়েছে।

শতকরা ৪৪.১ পার্সেন্টএব দুই একরেরও কম জমি রয়েছে।

পশ্চিমবঙ্গের লোক সংখ্যা ২৪,৮০০,০০০। তন্মধ্যে ১কোটি ৩৭ লক্ষ ক্ষেতমজুর, ভাগ্যচাষী, ও দরিদ্র কৃষক।

বর্গাদার ২৯ লক্ষ ৯০ হাজার।

ক্ষেতমজুর ৩০ লক্ষ—এই ৬০ লক্ষের কোনো জমি-জমা নেই।

পশ্চিমবঙ্গের ভূমি বা কৃষি সংস্কারের সমস্যা একটা সমগ্র সমস্যা, কাজেই এর কতগুলি সমস্যাকে অন্যগুলি থেকে পৃথক করা যায় না। রাষ্ট্রের এমন কি সামগ্রিক অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যা থেকে কৃষি সমস্যাকে পৃথকভাবে বিচার বিশ্লেষণ করা যেতে পারে না।

জমির উপর থেকে ক্রমবর্ধমান চাপ কমাতে হলে একটা বিবর্ত সংখ্যক লোককে শিল্প, ব্যবসায়, বাণিজ্যে এবং অন্যান্য জীবিকার পথ কবে দিতে হবে। শিল্পকে উন্নত করার জন্য কৃষকদের ক্রয় ক্ষমতা বাড়াতে হবে—এবং এইভাবে তাবা পরস্পর নির্ভরশীল হবে। অথচ বিলে সেই সবেব কোনো ব্যবস্থা নেই।

পূর্তু চাষীর হাতে জমি বিলি করার জন্য এবং সমগ্র কৃষি সমস্যার সম্যক সমাধানের জন্য একটা বিল প্রণয়ন করা চাই। খাজনা, কনাবাব ব্যবস্থা থাকা চাই—জোতদার, লাটদারদের ও মধ্যস্থতভোগীর মধ্যে অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা চাই।

জমিদারদের ক্ষতিপূরণ দেবার ব্যবস্থা এই বিলে রয়েছে। ব্রিটিশ আমল থেকে জমিদারবা প্রজাদের লুণ্ঠন করে আসছে। ৪ কোটি টাকা বাজস্বেব পবিবর্তে তাবা বজ্বে ১৬ কোটি টাকা আদায় করে। তাছাড়া অতিবিক্ত আদায়ও আছে। জমিদারদের অত্যাচাবে প্রজাবা সর্বস্বান্ত হয়েছ। ১৬০ বছর তাবা প্রজাদের বক্ত নিংড়ে স্বখে আবানে কাটিয়েছে।

কাজেই জমিদারদের ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়ার কোনো প্রশ্নই উঠে না। জমির উন্নয়নের জন্য অর্থ ব্যয়ের পরিবর্তে জমিদারদের ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়ার অর্থ হলো উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধির পথ বন্ধ করা। চির-স্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত বাংলাব উপর চেপে বয়েছে, তাকেই অব্যাহত রাখার ব্যবস্থা বিলে করা হয়েছ। বহু মধ্যস্থতভোগীদের হাতে প্রচুর জমি থেকে বাবে।

নিম্ন আয়ের “গ্রুপের” লোকদের জন্য অর্থাৎ যাদের বাৎসরিক আয় ৩,৬০০ টাকার নীচে এবং যাদের জীবিকা নির্বাহের অন্য কোন উপায় নেই তাদের পুনর্বাসনের জন্য টাকা দেওয়া যেতে পারে। এই সব মধ্যস্থতভোগীদের অধিকার নেওয়ার দিন থেকে পাঁচবছরের মধ্যে তাদের জমিতে বা শিল্পে পুনর্বাসনের দায়িত্ব সরকারকে নিতে হবে।

যাদের ৭৫ বিঘা জমি ও অন্য আয় আছে তাদের ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়ার কোন প্রয়োজন নেই।

ক্ষতিপূরণের জন্য “স্টেট” পুনর্বাসন কমিটি গঠন কবে তার মাফতে পুনর্বাসন “গ্রান্ট” নিষ্কারণ কবতে হবে।

এই বিলে কতকগুলি দফা যোগ করা দরকার— যাতে অন্যান্যভাবে জমিবিক্রী, হস্তান্তর, “পার্টিশান” এবং জমি থেকে কৃষক উচ্ছেদ হতে না পারে।

কৃষকদের উন্নতির জন্য অবশ্য প্রয়োজন কৃষকদের বিনামূল্যে জমি বণ্টন করা; অথচ সরকার আলোচনা কবছেন জমিদার, জোতদার কতখানি জমি বাখাব অধিকারী হবে এবং মধ্যস্থত লোপ কবে সবকাব যে জমি গ্রহণ করবেন তাব জন জমিদারদের কি পবিমাণ ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া হবে।

জনসাধারণের কর্মপ্রেবখাব দাব ঝুলে দিয়ে দুভিক্ত, বেকারী, দৈন্য ও অশিক্ষার কুরাল গ্রাস থেকে দেশের সামান্যতম মুক্তি লাভের আশা এই বিলে কোথাও পাওয়া যায় না।

দেশের সর্বাঙ্গীন উন্নতির জন্য ভূমি ব্যবস্থার সংস্কার করার জরুরী প্রয়োজনীয়তার যে স্বীকৃতি কংগ্রেসেব পক্ষ-বাদিকী পরিকল্পনার মধ্যে রয়েছে এই বিলে তাহাও লঙ্ঘন করা হয়েছ।

ভবিষ্যতে ভূমি সংস্কারের জন্য আইন প্রণয়নের মৌখিক আশ্বাস এবং পুনর্গঠনের আশ্বাস রাজস্ব মন্ত্রী মহাশয় দিয়েছেন। এই ফাঁকা প্রতিশ্রুতির কোন মূল্য নেই। সরকার গঠনতন্ত্রের পরিবর্তন করে এখনই আইন প্রণয়ন করে জোতদার, জমিদারদের জমি গ্রহণে যে বাধা আছে তাহা দূর কবতে পারেন। একদিকে জনসংখ্যাব বিবর্ত অংশের চরম দারিদ্র্য, অপরদিকে হাজার হাজার কৃষক ক্রমশঃ নিঃস্বৈ পবিণত হচেছ—এরাই জমি চাষ করে ফসল ও শিল্পের কাঁচা মাল জোগায়, এরাই আবার শিল্প-জাতদ্রব্যের প্রধান ক্রেতা। এই নিপাকরণ অর্থনৈতিক দুর্দশার পরিবর্তন ঘটানই আজকার মূল সমস্যা।

জমিদার, জোতদার ও বীজাতীয় স্বার্থের তাঁবেদার এবং দেশের মানুষের দুঃখ দুর্দশার প্রতি দরদ ও দায়িত্বহীন এই সরকারের পক্ষেই সব জিনিষই হালকা মনে বিবেচনা করা সম্ভব।

[Janab Abdul Halim.]

কিন্তু আমরা আমাদের কৃষি ব্যবস্থার উন্নতি চাই, কৃষকদের দঃ লাভের ব্যবস্থা চাই যাতে ঝাড়া ও কাঁচামালের জন্য বিদেশের উপর নির্ভরশীল না থাকতে হয়।

বিলে বিদেশী শিল্পপতিদের জন্য যথেষ্ট দরদ দেখান হয়েছে। চা-বাগানের মালিকদের বেহাই দেওয়া হয়েছে ও খনিমালিকদের জন্য বিলে বিশেষ ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে। ইহা অন্যতম কারণ হলো এসব শিল্পে নিযুক্ত বিদেশী ও বড় বড় দেশী পুঞ্জপতিদের প্রতি কংগ্রেসী সরকারের দরদ।

বিলে খনির জমিশর ও খনিমালিকদের যেভাবে ক্ষতিপূরণের ব্যবস্থা আছে তা মোটেই যুক্তিসঙ্গত নহে।

ক্ষতিপূরণ দেবার আমি তীব্র বিরোধিতা করছি।

ক্ষতিপূরণ দেবার সমর্থনে কোনও নৈতিক বা ব্যবহারিক যুক্তি নেই।

ইরাজ অস্ত্রবলে কৃষকদের জমি কেড়ে নিয়ে অনুগ্রহভাজনদের দিয়েছিল, তাহাই কিবিয়ে দিবার জন্য জমিদারদের ক্ষতিপূরণ পাবার কি অধিকার থাকতে পারে?

প্রয়োজন হলে সংবিধান সংশোধন করে বিনা ক্ষতিপূরণে জমিদারী উচ্ছেদ করার দাবী জানাচ্ছি।

এই বিলে কলিকাতা মিউনিসিপ্যালিটিকে জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদের আওতাব বাইরে রাখার সিদ্ধান্তকে তীব্র নিন্দা করছি। “সিলেক্ট কমিটি”র সিদ্ধান্তকে কৌশলে যেভাবে বদলে দেওয়া হয়েছে তাহা নিন্দনীয়।

মিঃ চেম্বারম্যান, স্যার, জমিদারী উচ্ছেদ বিল সম্পর্কে এই হচ্ছে আমার অভিমত।

[5—5-5 p.m.]

**Sj. Sachindra Nath Misra:**

মাননীয় চেম্বারম্যান মহাশয়, অপরপক্ষের মাননীয় সদস্যরা তাঁদের অবিশ্বাসী মন নিয়ে কোন জিনিষই বিশ্বাস করতে পারছেন না। তাঁরা যদিও মনে বিশ্বাস করেছেন, তার জাজল্যমান প্রমাণ থাকলেও তারা জিনিষটা প্রকাশ করতে পশ্চাত্তাপ হচ্ছেন। (ডাঃ মনীন্দ্র মোহন চক্রবর্তী: আপনাবাও ভেট্রি একটা বিশেষ কাণে সব কিছুই বিশ্বাস করছেন।) কংগ্রেস আমাদের স্বাধীনতা আনবে, আগে তাঁরা এটাও বিশ্বাস করতে পারেন নি, তারা নির্ভাচনেও বিশ্বাস করতে পারেন না। (ডাঃ মনীন্দ্র মোহন চক্রবর্তী: হাঁরা স্বাধীনতা এনেছেন তাঁরা অনেকেই কংগ্রেসের বাইরে।)

**Mr. Chairman:** Please do not interrupt.

**Sj. Sachindra Nath Misra:**

তারপরে আমাদের পঞ্চাষিক পরিকল্পনা—যে দেশের ভালব দিকে তা তাঁরা বিশ্বাস করতে পারছেন না—জমিদারী প্রথা উচ্ছেদ; এটাকে কথায় কথায় বলে মনে করছেন। এই যে অবিশ্বাসী মন আমাদের অপরপক্ষীয় বন্ধুদের, মনের এই অবিশ্বাসের ভাটা আমি তাঁদের পরিত্যাগ করতে অনুরোধ করব এবং বলব তাঁরা যেন বাস্তব জগতের দিকে ফিরে আসেন। এই “ষ্টেট একুইজিসন বিল”, যেটা আমাদের সামনে এসেছে এটা কার্যকরী করার সময় বোধ হয় মধ্যস্থতাবোধী পরিবাদের মধ্যে একটা চাকল্যা ও নিষ্ক্রিয়তার ভাব আসতে পারে; যাতে তারা একটা নব প্রেবণা লাভ করে, নবভাবে কার্যে লেগে যেতে পারে সেজন্য আমাদের অপরপক্ষীয় বন্ধুদের সাহায্য করতে বলবো।

আমাদের অপরপক্ষের কোন কোন বন্ধু মন্দের ভালো বলে এই বিলটা গ্রহণ করেছেন—এ ক্ষেত্রে আমি বলবো তাঁদের অবিশ্বাসী মন যেভাবে অবিশ্বাস থেকে বিশ্বাসে ফিরে আসছে সেটাও মন্দের ভাল (হাস্য)। আজ এই “ষ্টেট একুইজিসন বিল” আমবা সমর্থন করছি এই মনে করে যে এম দাবা নূতন নূতন প্রেবণা এসে দেশের চারদিকে একটা চাকল্যের সৃষ্টি হবে, এবং নবভাবে উদ্বুদ্ধ হয়ে অনেকেই কাজে লেগে যাবে। এই আশা অন্তরে অন্তরে পোষণ করে আমি এই বিলটা সমর্থন করছি।

**Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

Sir, I am happy that this step has been taken by our Government, although I would have been happier if this Bill would have come in the shape of a complete and comprehensive scheme. I do not understand my Communist friends here who are objecting to this Bill being accepted by the House on the grounds that they have alleged. I do not follow why they say that this Bill should not be accepted. One of the arguments that my friend Mr. Halim and Professor Chatterjee put forward is that the zemindars ought not to have been given any compensation and that the Government by this Bill would not do any good to the people. Sir, as regards the zemindars, Professor Chattopadhyay has opposed my friend, Sj.

Sankar Banerjee, when he recorded his appreciation of the contributions made by some of the zemindars. Sir, I join hands with S. Banerjee and demand that the Government should put on record, our Minister-in-charge of Land Revenue Department and the Chief Minister should put on record their appreciation of some of the zemindars whose contributions towards the building up of the society and the State of West Bengal are huge, as permanent settlement is going to be abolished and with the abolition of the permanent settlement the zemindars are going to lose their status. Sir, we should pay our respect to zemindars like Maharaja Monindra Chandra Nandy, Gopi Mohon Tagore and many other zemindars who have built up schools and colleges, hospitals and dispensaries, and opened magnificent roads connecting our villages with the city of Calcutta.

[5-5—5-10 p.m.]

Our Chief Minister knows that one of the zemindars belonging to the Munshi family of Taki constructed a road linking Taki with the city of Calcutta which is now being used by Barasat-Basrah Railway and other vehicles. Sir, I may tell you a small incident with which other members are not familiar. One of the zemindars belonging to the said Taki Munshi family made a provision by which two to three hundred students who used to sit in the Taki Government School for Middle Vernacular Examination used to get their free board and lodging. I happened to be one of the examinees some time in 1904 and I know what kind of hospitality we used to get irrespective of caste, creed or position. We used to be given not only free board and lodging but even during tiffin hours we used to get sweets and famous *malpoas* and I understand these arrangements are still there. At Pabna, which is now in Pakistan, the late Zaminder Babu Banwarilal Roy's munificence is well known, he built magnificent buildings for the college and technical school. There are many such instances of

the contributions made by these zemindars, and our Government before taking away completely their status should put on record their appreciation of these notable public works."

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** Sir, may I interrupt my honourable friend? Sir, I have stated in my reply definitely that the Bill is not against the zemindars but against the system of Permanent Settlement. I have made ample mention about good zemindars both individually and collectively.

**Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee:** Sir, I quite appreciate what the Chief Minister has said, but if he has any occasion to speak may I request him through you, that he should pointedly refer to the zemindars who have made these contributions to the building up of the society.

Now, Sir, I proceed to the question about the unearned income to which Professor Chattopadhyay has referred.

[5-10—5-15 p.m.]

Sir, it is true that the total assets of the land in the permanently-settled districts have increased enormously. But those who are familiar with the working of the system know that these increased assets did not go and were not going wholly into the pockets of the zemindars. There were "patni" settlements, "darpatni" settlements, tenure system, and so on. In this way the rents which were recovered by the zemindars were permanently fixed and they could not recover more than what was fixed by the "patni" leases. The increase in the assets came to the cultivators partly, and partly their landlords, the tenure-holders—when attempt was made by the zemindars to recover these increased assets from the hands of the peasants, legislation was made from 1860—there was the Rent Act of 1860, of 1869 and of 1885, by which Sir, the zemindars or the "Patnidars" or tenure-holders could not increase the rents payable by the cultivators. So it is wrong to say



[Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee.]

that they have been parasites and they have pocketed the entire increased assets of the cultivators. In 1885 when the present Bengal Tenancy Act was brought into the Statute Book the raiyats became full proprietors of their lands and the landlords could not increase the rent more than 2 annas per rupee, and if once this rent was increased by 2 annas per rupee, it could not be enhanced for 15 years to come. There were these legislations; it is therefore wrong to say that all these increased assets came into the hands of the zemindars. That is my answer with regard to unearned increments of the landlords.

Then, about compensation. If we look to compensation table, we find that the changes which were made by the Select Committee were very reasonable amendments; the Select Committee have given cent. per cent. compensation to those zemindars whose income is less, and they have given a lower scale of compensation to those who are big zemindars, and that has been done in the interests of the country. Therefore, I do not find fault with the table of compensation, and Sj. Sankar Banerji has rightly pointed out that if we forcibly take away the property belonging to a person we are bound to compensate the owner for depriving him of his property. Of course the quantum of compensation is to be determined by the Government with reference to its resources and classes of zemindars, and that has been done. Now, it has been said by my friend Mr. Halim that there is nothing in this Act for the benefit of the cultivators. But may I ask him to note that the Government has retained a certain percentage of land even in the hands of those persons who were cultivating by bargadars? If you look to sections 50 and 51, you will find that those persons who cultivate the lands with their own labour will not be touched. Persons who cultivate their lands through bargadars would be given 33 acres of land or 100 highas, so the widows or minors who depend

on bargadars will be thrown on the street. The Government by this Act is taking away lands from the intermediaries. Why?

[5-15—5-20 p.m.]

The Chief Minister as well as the Minister-in-charge of the Revenue Department have said that these lands would be redistributed amongst the landless labourers and those who are interested in the cause of agriculture. You cannot expect that every one of the tillers of the soil would get lands and in my mind it is inexpedient also to entrust lands to those persons who do not find any interest in agriculture. Sir, much is said about the bhagdars. I have some knowledge about these bhagdars. You may try to give lands to the bhagdars but you will find that they will refuse to take the responsibility of paying rents to the Government and will not take any lands, even if offered. They take to cultivate without any responsibility of their own and at the end of the year when the cultivation is over they will take a certain share from the produce. Sir, I was going through a small book on Russian agricultural system and I noticed that even there it was pointed out, just as efficient men in medical profession attract a large number of patients, just as good lawyers attract a large number of clients, similarly in Russia those who find interest in agriculture, those who are anxious to improve the productive powers of the soil are given larger area of land by the Russian Government but not others. Sir, we would expect that our Government, when they would distribute lands, would have to proceed on this principle. It cannot be said that this Act has been passed for the interest of Government. You will find that there is not one section in which Government has thought of getting a revenue from out of these lands which are going to rest in the Government. The Permanent Settlement of 1793 was a fiscal enactment; Lord Cornwallis had in his mind how to get a large

amount of revenue from these lands. But in this enactment you will find that the Government does not think of revenue at all. The consideration of Government throughout the Bill is how to improve agriculture and how to improve the economic condition of the people. That\* is the underlying principle throughout. You cannot call into question this policy of the Government. It is undoubtedly intended for the good of the people and as the Minister-in-charge has said that it is only overcoming the hurdle. If that hurdle is not removed Government cannot proceed to take other matters. Therefore, Sir, in my mind I feel that this Bill ought to be passed by this House.

[5-20—5-25 p.m.]

I think that in section 13 the Government could have given some indications, some outline of their policies. What would be the rights of the tenants to whom the Government would redistribute the lands? Will they hold the lands only for five years or ten years and if they are not found to be successful tenants, lands will be taken away again and allotted to some other persons, or they will also be the proprietors—what will be the policy? *Sr. Sankar Banerjee* has said that it is not possible to ascertain at the present moment as to the area of lands which will be available to each tiller. That is quite true. But as a policy the Government might have said to the tenants, you would be the proprietors or would be given the lands only for a short term without any proprietary right. Therefore, Sir, it must be held that it is incomplete. It is rather indecisive. The Bill reflects an indecisive mind without any fixity of ideas, or principles. That is the defect of this Bill. The Chief Minister and the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of the Revenue Department have said that another Bill is coming very soon; we would expect that the Government would waste no time in bringing that Bill in which all these details would be given particularly in view of the

fact that a very large number of bargadars would be deprived of their lands on account of this Bill. A large number of rent-receivers would be altogether deprived of their means of livelihood. Already, Sir, the unemployment problem is very acute in West Bengal and if on account of this Act lands of all intermediaries vest in the State by the 1st of Baisakh, 1362, how these people will live. The Chief Minister has said that the Community Project and the Five-Year Plan already in operation will absorb many. But the bargadars and many of the rent-receivers in the mofussil are not educated and they will not have any employment in social services, primary or secondary schools. There will not be in one day the industrialisation and we cannot expect that these rent-receivers will get employment in any of these industries. Therefore, unless you very soon introduce a Bill by which there will be the redistribution of these lands after making necessary amendments of the Constitution, there will be difficulties so far as the unemployment is concerned. Therefore, I would have liked that this Bill would have been brought a little later. It does not matter whether Orissa or Uttar Pradesh or Bihar has brought a Bill. Our Chief Minister is strong enough to guide his own Government, in a way which will be conducive to the welfare of our people; because other States have done, that is no reason why we should have to do it at once. My Communist friends were complaining that it has been done very hastily and if the amendment could have been made in, say 20 days by working three hours a day, another Bill could have been prepared by this time. I also think that it is only for pacifying my friends there that this Bill has been hastily brought by our Government.

[5-25—6 p.m.]

By this Act my friends will feel that Government is doing something so far as the peasants are concerned. If we had waited one session more

[Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee.]

and if one comprehensive and complete scheme would have been brought before the House, it would have been better. However, Sir, I congratulate the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge for the courage he has shown by the abolition of the zemindary, because by such Act he has effaced the last vestige of the British rule so far as land revenue policy is concerned. Lord Cornwallis was dead long ago, but with the Permanent Settlement his memory was continuing in our mind and with the abolition of the zemindary, I think, his name will also disappear from our mind. We should proceed to build up our State on a new line and in this matter our Government has started a new history.

**Mr. Chairman:** I adjourn the House for half an hour for tea, and after this recess we shall take up the discussion and continue for an hour or so according to the wishes of the House.

(The House adjourned for 30 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:** Sir, my task has been considerably lightened by what has fallen from the lips of my friend Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee. As a matter of fact, both of us were considering the Bill in detail for the last two days and we came to the unanimous conclusion that the Bill, in spite of certain defects here and there, should be welcome. (Cheers from the Government Benches.) I will go even further than that. I consider that taking all things into consideration, considering all the advantages and disadvantages of a new land system, taking into consideration all kinds of conflicting interests, I, who was a member of the Select Committee and devoted great attention to the consideration of the measure, consider, nay, it is my deliberate opinion, that there could not be a better Bill than this in the present circumstances.

[6—6.5 p.m.]

There are however certain defects in the Bill and presently I would point them out. I have not tried to move any amendment because I consider it absolutely useless to do so as I know that at this stage no amendment has any ghost of a chance of being accepted in this House. Therefore, what I shall say in a few words is only for the consideration of the Government when they will introduce any Bill in future for the amendment of this measure. Sir, it will be too late in the day if I say anything in support of the Permanent Settlement. I shall be considered too reactionary if I do anything to that effect. I will bow down to the consensus of opinion in the country that Permanent Settlement is bad and it has done the worst disservice to the country and therefore it should go. I will accept that view, and when the Government have introduced this Bill in order to do away with that outmoded land revenue system, I will not join issue with them. I will accept it in good grace. But, Sir, sometimes a doubt crosses my mind. The Bill has been certainly put forward for the betterment of the condition of the agricultural labourers in the country. On that point, Sir, I say frankly, sometimes a doubt comes to my mind. It occurs to me that at least for a certain number of years there will be no substantial improvement in the condition of the tillers of the soil. And as regards revenue, I shall consider the Government and the country fortunate if they can safeguard the existing amount of land revenue. Nay, sometimes I am led to think that revenue in immediate future will fall short of the amount which we now get. However I will agree with my friend Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee who pointed out, land revenue was probably not in the consideration of the Government when they brought forward this Bill. I had a discussion on this point with one of my well known Communist friends the other day. I pointed out to him: "you are banking

upon the increment in land revenue, increment in the income of the State after the abolition of the zemindary system. But I will tell you, Sir, that far from any rise in our land revenue, even the present amount of land revenue, will not be safeguarded." He told me in reply: "Well, land revenue is not our concern. We want on the other hand that there should not be any land revenue in future. We want that everybody should be allowed to hold land free without any payment, that there will be taxes but no rent." Now, Sir, if that is the view of my Communist friend, the view of the Congressmen also is almost the same. Rent or revenue was not therefore in all probability in the consideration of the Government. But if the betterment of the condition of the agriculturists was their main objective, the question is, will the abolition of the present land system secure that object? As I have already said, Sir, I have doubts on the point. Still I will bow down to the majority opinion of the country according to which there will be millennium soon after the abolition of the system.

[6-5—6-10 p.m.]

Even though I do not subscribe to the view I will pray to God that what they desire and what they hope for will materialise.

Then, Sir, as I have told you, my friend S. J. Debendranath Mukherjee has considerably lightened my task. The first point which I jotted down in my note on the Bill in order to bring it to your notice was the desirability to place on record that the zemindars as a class, if not all of them individually, have done great service to the country. I do not deny that there were or are oppressive zemindars. But there were and are also good and very good zemindars. I say, therefore, it would be unfair to tar them all with the same brush. I think for that reason that now when this zemindary system is being abolished it would be unfair if we do not

remember the contribution which they have made to the building up of the nation. However as my friend S. J. Debendranath Mukherjee has dwelt on this point elaborately, I do not want to waste the time of the House by repeating the same argument. Sir, some of my friends have waxed eloquent on the inequity of the suggestion for paying compensation. I do not agree with them, I cannot understand why people who have got some property should be deprived of that without compensation. I admit as a dispassionate student of history that there were zemindars who oppressed their raiyats and got much more out of the land than they should have. At the same time, Sir, as I have already told the House, it would be unfair to tar all the zemindars with the same brush. Secondly, among the zemindars of the present day there are many who have got their zemindari by recent purchase. It would be positively improper to deprive them of their zemindari without legitimate amount of compensation. Sir, in the compensation table which is attached to this Bill great injustice has been done to all landlords. I would ask the House to remember in this connection that it would not be fair for us to fix our eyes only on the big guns. There are big zemindars but the intermediaries include many who belong to the poor middle class. Land has been their only source of income. These latter are also in a sense zemindars. I say again, it would be unfair to deprive them of their land without paying them legitimate compensation. Sir, I find some of my friends have expressed strong objections to the scheme of compensation proposed in the Bill. But have they calculated what amount of expropriation has been made in this Bill? I would like to point this out. I have made a calculation. I have seen that even on the basis of 3 per cent. return on the cash compensation account, the amount of expropriation in the case of a landlord whose income is fifty thousand rupees would be 84 per cent.

[S. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri.]

[6-10—6-15 p.m.]

while persons with an income of Rs. 1 lakh will be expropriated to the extent of 86 per cent. with an income of Rs. 2 lakhs, 90 per cent. with an income of Rs. 5 lakhs, 92 per cent. and with an income of Rs. 10 lakhs to the extent of 93 per cent. Sir, let me here point out to guard against misunderstanding that I do not hold an inch of land. I am not a zemindar, nor a taluqdar nor even a gathidar. I had a very small landed property in East Bengal but this due to the partition of Bengal I have been deprived of. So, in saying all these things, I am not pleading for myself or for my brethren in East Pakistan who have been deprived of their lands. Then look at the cases of people with lower income. Those whose income is Rs. 10,000 annually will be expropriated to the extent of 64 per cent., those who have income of Rs. 5,000, 58 per cent. while even those whose income is Rs. 1,000 will not be spared, as the expropriation in their case will be 43 per cent. After all, then, how much compensation have you proposed to pay? And even this do you mean to say excessive? Am I, then, to believe that you want these unfortunate people—the intermediaries whom you call—most of them belonging to the lower or upper middle class—to be driven to the streets and swell the number of the unemployed? And will that be conducive to the good of the country? Some of my friends on the side of the Leftist group, who are clamouring for complete confiscation have quoted Gandhiji in support of their contention. I have also read Mahatma Gandhi's writings. I won't be able to quote chapter and verse just now. I am 63. I have not got the same stupendous memory as my friend, Dr. Roy. So, I won't be able to quote chapter and verse. But I have read in many places in Gandhi's writing that he was opposed to confiscation or expropriation. So, Sir, the scheme of

compensation in the Bill is not anything to which reasonable exception can be taken.

Then, Sir, much has been said regarding the provisions in the Bill about the *bargadars*. My friend, Deben Babu, has rightly pointed out to those who are crying for the total abolition of the Barga system, then you would not be doing good to all bargadars by abolishing it altogether. It has been said by some that the Bill will deprive of their livelihood many widows and other poor people in the countryside who are living on the income which they derive from the land after getting it cultivated with the help of the bargadars. I say, Sir, this is not correct. Such Barga cultivation has been on the contrary fully safeguarded in the Bill. If you read section 51, clause 2, you will find that that section has been most wisely drafted. That section was not before us in the Select Committee but some of us were thinking on the lines of its provisions. I am very glad that the section has been incorporated in the Bill in the lower House by means of an amendment. It is very clearly laid down in this section that people who are called jotedars will be allowed to retain 33 acres of land to be cultivated by bargadars. That is, to say about a hundred bighas of land, they will be allowed to cultivate with the help of the bargadars. Now, Sir, this will be enough protection for the widows in the villages or other poor middle-class people whose land in khas possession is generally much below this limit.

[6-15—6-20 p.m.]

Then, Sir, those who will have more lands than a hundred bighas, will not also be touched provided they cultivate or want to cultivate that land with the help of their own men by tractors or with country-made ploughs as they like. This is really a very good provision in the Bill; this will prevent interference with production: people who were cultivating with the help of tractors or who

want to be engaged in large scale cultivation will not be deprived of the opportunity to do so. Therefore I consider this section 51(2) to be very good. But, Sir, in spite of these good points there are certain defects in the Bill. As I told you at the outset I did not move any amendment for their removal because I considered that to be useless. I will however point them out to you in the hope that the Hon'ble Minister might take note of them. In the first place, hat and bazar would be taken away by the Government under the Bill. There is really no justification for it. I mentioned this in the Select Committee many times and there were some who supported me then. This Bill has been put forward for the sake of the improvement of cultivation, to improve the condition of the cultivators. So, hat and bazar which have nothing to do with cultivation should not be taken away under the Bill. The second point is that rent will be charged for the homestead land which is positively unfair. The homestead land should be allowed to be possessed free by the people. You have very rightly left the houses and buildings to the intermediaries. But when they will not be deprived of their houses why do you want to charge rent for the land on which their houses will stand? After all you will not get much money from it. On the contrary Government will become unpopular by it. This change is not therefore very wise.

There is another point. The most important section in the Bill is section 13. My friend Mr. Mukherjee has said something about it. Government is taking away lands but how will they dispose of them without fragmentation? Friends who had recently been to Orissa and Bihar told me that Acharya Vinobha Bhave and other leaders of the Bhudan Movement are now unable to dispose of their lands as they have got too much to be able to manage.

[6-20—6-25 p.m.]

The Maharajah of Darbhanga has made a gift of 6 lakhs bighas of land.

(At this stage the speaker reached his time limit.)

Sir, I require five minutes more. I will not speak again. Sir, in section 13 it has been said that after the land has come into the possession of the Government, all estates and all interests of intermediaries shall be managed by the Government according to such rules as the State Government may from time to time make in this behalf. It may be said against the Government that so much land will be in the hands of the Government and that they will distribute this land in any way they like. Of course, that will be done according to some rules. But where is the guarantee that the rules will have the approval of the country? So, I think these rules according to which the lands will be disposed of or managed should have the approval of the Legislature. Provision should have been made that these rules would be placed before the Legislature for approval.

Then, Sir, there is the provision in the section for the creation of statutory authorities on such terms and conditions as the Government would think fit, which will be saddled with the responsibility for the management of the estates and interests which will come into the hands of the Government. But what is the nature of the statutory authority? We do not know anything about that. Sir, it has been said by some—I will not refer to the speeches in the Lower House because that is not allowed—that in the absence of any clear indication as to how these lands will be disposed of by the Government, as to how these lands will be managed by the Government, some unscrupulous members of the Government, if there are any, may be disposed—

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, is that a parliamentary expression?

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:** I withdraw it. Some selfish members of the Government, if there be any, may be disposed to distribute the land at the time of the election in a way which would be advantageous to them. Therefore, Sir, section 13 should have been made more clear. When the Government will bring forward the next Bill which will make detailed provision as to the distribution of land, I hope they will bear this point in mind.

Then, one other point and I shall finish. Sir, in section 51, 33 acres of land will be given to each jotedar or cultivator. But what kind of land will be this? One of my friends on the Congress side, a friend for whom I have very great respect, was asking me what kind of land will be these 33 acres? Will it include both agricultural land and non-agricultural land and will this land comprise homestead? On that point nothing has been made very clear. I take it that 33 acres of agricultural land will be allowed to be retained, but on that point I think some clarification should have been made.

[6-25—6-30 p.m.]

Then, Sir, I forgot to mention one other point. In section 6 you have said that an intermediary will be entitled to retain land comprised in homestead but nowhere in section 5 it has been very clearly laid down that they will be allowed to retain the buildings. So I think "homestead and land comprised therein" ought to have been a better expression. It would have avoided all kinds of ambiguity. Sir, with these words I congratulate the Government on bringing forward this Bill. As a member of the Select Committee and as a disinterested man having no politics and no land, who can see things in their proper perspective from outside, I would commend the House to accept the Bill.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to make just a few observations on

the Bill that has just been introduced by the Hon'ble Minister. In doing so I feel that apart from his speech in the course of the debate very little has been said which has to be replied to. Mr. Sankar Das Banerji waxed eloquent on the sacred rights of the zemindars. We shall presently examine it. Mr. Debendranath Mukherjee was sentimental over the malpoas which he used to devour at the school where he was an examinee.

**Mr. Chairman:** The word "devour"—I do not know whether it is unparliamentary but it does not show good taste.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** I withdraw it. Mr. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri has pointed out many defects in the Bill. I understand that he was a member of the Select Committee. How is it that he did not submit a note of dissent? It is for him to answer. In the circumstances my task has been rendered very easy indeed. I will begin by praising the person who has been responsible for piloting the Bill on the floor of the House. I will congratulate him on the excellent speech that he has delivered. Unfortunately, this is a speech which is not sometimes noticed but I think it deserves congratulation. The Bill has, I admit, some very desirable features. In the first place, it abolishes the permanent settlement—the infamous settlement to which we may trace many of the evils from which agriculture and agriculturists of Bengal are suffering today. In the second place, it acquires intermediate interests. That is also a very desirable feature. Sir, the feature which is very attractive is that surplus land in the hands of the intermediaries has also come under the control and within the purview of the Bill. This is certainly an improvement upon the measures that have been adopted by some of the other States of India and in this respect the Minister-in-charge of the Bill certainly deserves our congratulation.

[6-30—6-35 p.m.]

In spite of it all, Sir, I feel that the Bill does not go far enough, and it is here that I feel extremely disappointed. But I have the consolation that the people of Bengal are on the march and once a beginning—however meagre a beginning it may be—has been made people will not rest satisfied until their legitimate rights are realised and a new social order is established in our country. I do not rely so much upon the party in power. I do not rely upon this Bill. But I do rely upon the people who will be capable of building great things out of the meagre beginning which has been made today. But I must thank the Minister for making this small beginning.

Mr. Sankar Das Banerji has raised the question of compensation. This question of compensation is a very ticklish one and has addressed the attention of the legislators and students of land laws for a very long time in our country. He argues that the zamindars are entitled to full compensation but since the State is not in a position to pay full compensation compensation at a lower scale is being paid. I contest his original proposition that the zamindars are the proprietors of the soil. If we look into the history of the land system of India from the early Hindu days up to 1793 we will find that the land really belonged not to the zamindars who were not more than revenue farmers, not to the middle-class, but to the peasants themselves. I may have your permission to draw your attention to a very pertinent observation by Professor Rees Davis who says that the rural economy was based chiefly on the system of village community of land-owners or what is known in Europe as peasant proprietorship. Professor Rees Davis rules out altogether after having examined all the relevant references that the king was the proprietor of the soil; it belonged to the peasant. The great Mimansa philosopher, Jaimini,

discussing threadbare the question whether the land belongs to the king or to the people in general, concludes that the land is not a subject of gift by the king. For, as regards its proprietorship all men stand in the same position. Let us now come to Sayanacharyya who commenting on the text of Krishna-Jajurveda Brahmana comments as follows: the king should perform a sacrifice giving away all his property but land is not the property of the king and the land of the country cannot be given away.

Coming to the Moghul days we find that it is clearly laid down in Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl that the land really belongs to the people and the money that is given to the king or to the Moghul Emperor is a payment not of the nature of rent but of the nature of a tribute or a tax. I will read out the relevant passage from the Ain-i-Akbari. The Ain-i-Akbari refers to the Hindu system and the translated passage runs as follows: in former times the monarchs exacted a sixth of the produce of the land as tribute and tax and not as rent. Then the Ain-i-Akbari continues: one-third of the minimum of produce of pasture land cultivated for every harvest as the revenue settled by his Majesty. That was the position from the earliest times down to the Moghul days.

[6-35—6-40 p.m.]

You are aware, Sir, that before the British took over from the Moghuls lands were really in the possession of the raiyats and they were recognised as owners of the lands. Some people were appointed to collect revenue and they were known as zemindars but these zemindars were no better than rent collectors or revenue farmers. In 1793 the Permanent Settlement established a new situation altogether unknown to Hindu and Moghul days, but I think, Sir, that the state of affairs that came to be established by the orders of Lord Cornwallis sanctioned by the Court of Directors was of the nature of an



[Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya.]

usurpation, that is to say, the revenue farmers or rent collectors were placed in the position of proprietors of the soil, but this is nothing but usurpation. It is interesting to study the circumstances that made Lord Cornwallis to accept this position. It is both economic and political. In his report to the Court of Directors he said clearly that one of the purposes that the Permanent Settlement would serve would be to assure the Company a fixed revenue. Another sinister attempt was made and that attempt unfortunately became very successful to drive away the richer section of the people from the field of trade and commerce to land. The result was that there was hardly any competitor for the Company. Lord Cornwallis distinctly writes that "If we want to trade with India without any competition, we ought to accept this system of Permanent Settlement. That would in fact drive away all capital now in the country from trade and commerce to land." That actually happened. The third objective of Lord Cornwallis was to have a politically subservient race of men who would support the Government in all circumstances. This political motive of Cornwallis became, as you are aware, Sir, eminently successful. Certain usurpers were used as instrument by Lord Cornwallis for the purpose of serving the interests of British capitalism. Are we going to recognise this usurpation or not? My contention is, Sir, that the wrong that has been perpetrated has to be removed root and branch. My contention is that the zemindars in view of the fact that they are not real proprietors of the soil, do not deserve any compensation whatsoever. That is the position that my friends Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty and Sj. Annada Prosad Chaudhuri took in the matter. Mr. Sankar Das Banerji not knowing all these historical facts waxed eloquent on practically nothing without any basis to go upon. He has alleged that my friend Mr. Chakrabarty has

done a great wrong by regarding the zemindars, the victims of the zemindary system, as parasites. So far as I have been able to understand, Dr. Chakrabarty did not in fact go against any particular individual, his plan was against the system, his argument was that the zemindary system led to parasitism. Everybody knows that Permanent Settlement or zemindary system led to the creation of drones or parasites. It inhibited all kinds of industrial activities and as a result of this quite a large number of people came to throw their burden upon the zemindaries.

[6-40—6-45 p.m.]

It was to this state of affairs, this parasitism, that zemindary led to, to which Dr. Chakrabarty was drawing our attention. Sir, Mr. Banerji is a great admirer of the zemindary system. Will he be good enough to turn a few pages of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's works and read his famous essays on "Banga Desher Krishak"? If he does, he will realise that the picture was entirely different. Writing before the Tenancy Act of 1885 was enacted, Bankim Chatterjee says that the Permanent Settlement has in fact given rise to a kind of zemindari tyranny under which our peasants are going lower and lower down in the scale of civilisation. I admit, Sir, that the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 sought to improve the situation. Shall we accept the evidence of Bankim Chatterjee or of Mr. Sankar Das Banerji, I ask you in all seriousness?

Sir, coming to the detailed provisions of the Bill I would seek to draw your attention to one particular matter which I regard as an act of treachery. A solemn assurance has been sought to be given by the sponsor of the Bill and the Chief Minister that the Calcutta Municipal area would be included within the scope of the Bill, but by some kind of conspiracy with certain members of the opposition in the Lower House, Sir, this very salutary measure to which they

themselves agreed was dropped, and dropped without any notice even to the party men. I call this an act of treachery. Sir, there is something much worse than that. Our information is that this has been done at the bidding of the speculators of Central Calcutta. The speculators of Central Calcutta with their ill-gotten monies acquired during the First and the Second World Wars have purchased quite a lot of property in Calcutta and in the suburbs. It is in their interests that the Calcutta municipal area has been excluded from the operation of the Bill. You will perhaps say, Sir, that the Government had no alternative. I will agree, because they are bound to act according to the bidding of the speculators of Central Calcutta. Sir, there is another matter to which I would like to draw your kind attention. You are aware that the properties that the State will be acquiring under the authority conferred upon them by the Bill will come to the Government without any encumbrances. You are aware that some of the properties which we shall be acquiring for the State have some charges on them.

[6-45—6-50 p.m.]

Perhaps some public institution is maintained out of the income derived from the property concerned. Government has not made any provision for this kind of public institutions. Is it the idea of the Government that since they acquire the land without any encumbrance they will see to maintain the institutions of public benefit which were being fed by some of these properties. I would like to draw the attention of the Revenue Minister to this point which has risen in my mind. Sir, my friend Mr. Choudhuri has raised the question to which I would like to refer because it is a matter of very great importance. Sir, you are aware that a large percentage of mining properties is owned by foreigners in this country. What is the guarantee that these foreigners will invest the compensation that they will get in our country? The

Revenue Minister in course of his able speech stated that he would like to see that the money that is paid by way of compensation is invested in commerce and industry. Where is the guarantee that these foreigners will invest the money in commerce and industry or are we to believe that they are as much helpless, the Government are as much helpless in the hands of the foreign capitalist as they are in the hands of the speculators of Central Calcutta? Whatever may be the defects of the Bill I know that the people will take things in their own hands and the people well know how to make the best of the Bill. Our Revenue Minister has promised that a Land Reform Bill is on the legislative anvil, not actually on the legislative anvil but which is being considered and is nearing completion. That is also a very good thing. He has also indicated the scope of the land reform. We are in very much agreement with the scope as stated by him but I hope, Sir, that he will see to it that the Bill is placed before the Legislature of the State as soon as possible. But even if they do not the people will take things in their own hands and see to it that a new social order is actually established. Thank you, Sir.

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** Sir, it is unnecessary for me to take much of the time of the House. In my opening speech I indicated the broad features and the important provisions of the Bill. I have also informed the House that this is only a first stage of land reforms. It is not easier keeping in view the provisions of the Constitution to acquire the rights of the intermediaries without hindrance. I have also indicated that the second Bill will contain necessary provisions for the purpose of bringing out complete land reforms in this country. Sir, in the preparation of the second Bill certain facts and data are necessary. These are being collected and in the meantime the record-of-rights will also be completed. I hope, Sir, we will be able to place before the House at

[The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu.]

its next session the second Bill which will make a complete provision for land reforms.

[6-50—6-55 p.m.]

Sir, a complaint has been made by my friend, Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty, and he has suggested that the Bill should be recommitted without limitation. Sir, the Bill was published on the 5th May, 1953. It was introduced in the Assembly on the 7th May, 1953, and it was then referred to the Joint Committee of both the Houses consisting of 29 members chosen from the two Houses. Sir, almost all the political parties were represented on this Committee. Sir, the Joint Committee held 14 sittings and as I have already informed the House that they considered in detail the entire Bill and 179 amendments were suggested by different members. Sir, the Bill was discussed in the Assembly for ten days and about 400 amendments were suggested. In those circumstances, Sir, there is no doubt that every one has had the opportunity of considering the provisions of the Bill and I am sure you will agree with me that the Bill has been sufficiently tested.

**Mr. Chairman:** Dr. Chakrabarty could not move his amendment because it was out of order.

**The Hon'ble Sj. Satyendra Kumar Basu:** I did not say that he moved it. I am only trying to show that the members of this House had sufficient opportunity of very carefully considering the Bill. Sir, there is another reason why land reforms are going to be introduced in this country in two stages. Sir, you must have appreciated that with regard to implementation of the first stage there is practically no constitutional difficulty. So that stage will go through quickly. With regard to the second stage there is bound to be certain amount of opposition and I am sure there will be complications. So, it is

much better that the first stage should be achieved without any difficulty and without delay. Sir, a complaint has been made that the Calcutta Municipal area has been excluded from the operation of the Bill. Sir, it is true that in the Joint Committee it was accepted that Calcutta should be included within the purview of the Bill. The matter came up before the Assembly and it was discussed at length. It was found, Sir, that for various reasons some of which I shall indicate later, it was more convenient that Calcutta should be excluded from the operation of the Bill. At one point we thought that we should have a uniform land tenure throughout the State and one set of administration so that there will not be any difficulty in working out the provisions of the Act. But, Sir, on a more careful consideration we have found it will be better to leave out Calcutta because the considerations applicable to Calcutta are quite different from those applicable to the rural areas.

[6-55—7 p.m.]

Sir, you are aware that the Bengal Tenancy Act does not apply to the city of Calcutta. It is governed by the Transfer of Property Act. So far as the question of intermediaries and different tenures they do not apply to the city of Calcutta, they apply to the rural areas. Calcutta, that is to say, the area described in Schedule I, in the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1923, as well as areas added to Calcutta from time to time by notification under section 3 of the Act has been excluded from the Bengal Tenancy Act. All these areas including the added area of Tollygunge now constitute the areas governed by the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1951. The portion of Calcutta which is under the Original Jurisdiction of the High Court, lands there, can be redeemable as absolute after paying 30 years ground rent and the tenants can hold land directly under the Government on a short or long term lease. These tenants are governed

by the Transfer of Property Act. Then, Sir, in bringing about land reforms we are primarily concerned with agricultural lands. Sir, in Calcutta there is no agricultural land. Our object is to improve the production—food production—and that will not be helped in any way by enforcing the provisions of the Act in the Calcutta area. The conditions of tenancy, as I have already told you, Sir, are quite different. If we have to acquire these interests in Calcutta then large sums of money may have to be paid as compensation and the return would not be satisfactory. Having regard to those considerations, the area administered by the Calcutta Municipal Act has been excluded from the purview of the Bill. Sir, believe my friends know that when an amendment was moved by an honourable member of the Opposition we considered the matter and after some discussion we came to the conclusion that it was much better to leave out Calcutta from the operation of the Bill.

Sir, much has been said about compensation. Sir, normally, you have to pay compensation for property which you take away. You have got to pay compensation at the market rate, by reason of article 31 of the Constitution but we are able to provide compensation according to the market rate but according to a different basis, sort of grading compensation, according to the income of the intermediaries.

[7-7-53 p.m.]

Sir, it is not possible to acquire property without paying compensation. Sir, the basis of compensation which is provided in the Bill, in my submission, is extremely reasonable, and compares favourably with the one contained in the Acts passed by the other States. In fact, Sir, if you calculate it, you will find that the rate provided in the Bill is lower than the rate in the Acts passed by the Legislatures of other States.

Sir, my friend S. J. Annada Prosad Choudhuri has said that an intermediary entitled to receive compensation can commute it at his discretion. I may only draw his attention to clause 23, sub-clause 2(b) of the Bill. He will find that a discretion has been given to permit commutation of compensation so that the option rests entirely with the Government whether payment should be made in accordance with the bond or the bond should be redeemed. My friend Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyay tried to evolve some kind of principle for the purpose of applying the rule of "Damdapat". This is the proposition which he advanced: if an intermediary had invested Rs. 1,000 on the purchase of his interest and if in the course of his management of the property he had realised more than double his investment, then he should get nothing more. That is not the principle which had been enunciated in the Constitution. I remember, Sir, one of my friends in the Lower House went to the length of suggesting that, applying the rule of "Damdapat", the zemindar should be made to pay; if he got it at Rs. 1,000 and if in the course of half a century he had collected Rs. 2,400, he would not only have to part with his property free but he will have to refund Rs. 400. That in my submission is an absurd proposition and cannot be applied to matters concerning acquisition of land. Sir, I think it was Mr. Chattopadhyay who complained—he said that he did not like that certain companies should be allowed to retain khas land in their possession. Even here I would invite his attention to clause 6(1)(j) of the Bill, and it clearly provides that such a company will be permitted to retain khas land provided it is engaged exclusively in farming.

Sir, with regard to tea gardens, mines, orchards, etc., it is obvious that it will serve no useful purpose by acquiring these lands and dividing them up among so many cultivators. They must be held by one person or one concern and must be

[The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu.]

one for the purpose of fruitful gain, and these undertakings also employ a large number of people so that it will be more useful to exclude them from the purview of the Bill.

Sir, I acknowledge with thanks the support to this Bill given by my friends Sj. Mukherjee, Sj. Rai Choudhuri and Prof. Nirmal Bhattacharyya. I am glad that their approach to the problems—difficult problems indeed—has been more rational and realistic.

[7-5—7-10 p.m.]

Sir, with regard to the hats and bazars it is proposed to acquire them and the reasons are that they will be properly run, a large number of people may be employed and there will be room for expansion. Whereas if they are left in the hands of private proprietors there may be fragmentation of interest and in the course of time these hats and bazars may disappear. With regard to rent in respect of homestead land the Select Committee did agree that no rent should be charged for homestead but as the sense of the House—of the Assembly—that rent should be charged in respect of homestead land allowed to be retained that provision has been eliminated from the Bill allowing the homestead exemption from the payment of rent.

Sir, I think I have answered the criticisms to this Bill as far as could and I hope that the House will accept the Bill.

The motion of the Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu that the West Bengal Estates Acquisition Bill, 1953, as passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

**Mr. Chairman:** The House stands adjourned till 3-30 p.m. tomorrow.

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:** Sir, on a point of information; You have pointed out the other day in the course of the discussion of the Non-Official Resolution that the first item—

**Mr. Chairman:** I am sorry. The House has already been adjourned.

### Adjournment.

The Council was then adjourned at 7-10 p.m. till 3-30 p.m. on Tuesday, the 1st December, 1953, at Legislative Buildings, Calcutta.

### Members absent.

1. Bagchi, Sj. Narendranath.
2. Bhattacharjee, Sj. Durga Kinkar.
3. Bose, Sj. Subodh Kumar.
4. Sanyal, Sj. Charu Chandra.
5. Sarkar, Sj. Pranabeswar.
6. Sen, Sj. Debendra.

## COUNCIL DEBATES

*Tuesday, the 1st December, 1953.*

THE COUNCIL met in the Legislative Chamber of the Legislative Building, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 1st December, 1953, at 3-30 p.m., being the 7th day of the Third Session, under the Constitution of India.

Mr. Chairman (the Hon'ble Dr. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI) was in the Chair.

[3-30—3-35 p.m.]

### Point of Information.

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:** On a point of information. Yesterday when I asked for certain information—

**Mr. Chairman:** Questions will be taken up first. You please raise it after Question time.

## QUESTION

(to which oral answer was given)

### Jhargram Agricultural College.

**11. Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state—

(a) if it is a fact that the Government have taken over Jhargram Agricultural College from the University of Calcutta; and

(b) if the answer to (a) be in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(i) the terms and conditions on which the said college was provincialised,

(ii) whether the appointments of the members of the staff of the said college who are holding permanent appointments under the university before Government took over the college have been confirmed as yet, and

(iii) if not, the reasons for the delay in confirming those appointments?

**Minister-in-charge of the Education Department (the Hon'ble Pannalal Bose):** (a) Yes.

(b)(i) A statement is laid on the Table.

(ii) The members of the staff were all temporary and the question of their absorption or otherwise is under consideration.

(iii) Does not arise.

*Statement referred to in reply to clause (b)(i) of question No. 11.*

The Jhargram University College was taken over from the University of Calcutta for its reorganisation and maintenance as Jhargram Government College with effect from 1st July, 1953, subject to the following terms and conditions:—

(1) The land and property donated by the Raja of Jhargram will now vest in Government.

(2) The reconstituted Jhargram College will provide for the teaching of I.Sc. (general), I.A. and B.A. in certain limited subjects.

Facilities for instruction up to I.Sc. (Agri.) now existing will be retained for the time being and this section will be run in co-operation with the Agriculture and Co-operation Department of this Government.

(3) The Agriculture and Co-operation Department will establish a farm and research sub-station on the agricultural land.

- (4) Admission into the 3rd year B.Sc. (Agri.) classes at the college should be discontinued from the current year, the university being responsible for the instruction of the students already admitted into the college.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what he actually means by "for the time being" occurring in the last paragraph on page 1 of the answer?

**The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose:** "For the time being" is an expression which has been very loosely used here. It means that there is no intention to abolish it but there is just a chance because the idea is that we will teach I.Sc. (General), I.A. and B.A. in certain limited subjects. At present I.Sc. in Agriculture is continuing and probably it may continue but there is just a chance.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Is the Hon'ble Minister contemplating reimbursing the University to the extent of the financial expenditure incurred in connection with this college?

**The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose:** I want notice.

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:** There is no question of reimbursement.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** The building, land, etc., and some money were given by the Raja of Jhargram to the University some nine years ago, I think in 1944, on condition that the University will start the college with B.A., B.Sc., I.A. and I.Sc. classes. Of course the B.Sc. and I.Sc. classes will have special teaching in Agriculture. Land was given and the building was completed and then it was found by the University that it was impossible to fulfil the terms of agreement. One of the terms of the Raja of Jhargram was that if the University could not

develop and start the classes within a certain time—I think within two years, the property will go back to the Jhargram Raj. The University could not fulfil their agreement and the property should have gone back to the Raja of Jhargram, but, munificent as he is, he agreed to take it back only to give it back to the Government provided the Government would start the college. But Government told him that it was impossible for them to have B.Sc. in Agriculture and B.Sc. ordinary classes but they could certainly have I.A., I.Sc. (General), I.Sc. (Agriculture) and B.A. classes. It is on these conditions that the property has been handed over to the Government. It was actually handed over by the University to the donor who has given it back to the Government. So there is no question of payment of compensation to the University in this connection. The arrangement is that as soon as the B.Sc. (Agriculture) classes are over, the whole of the work will be on these four lines, namely, B.A., I.Sc. (Agriculture), I.Sc. (General), and I.A. The students that are there at present and the staff belonging to the University will continue to be under the University for that period—

[3-35—3-40 p.m.]

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Has the Public Service Commission been instructed with regard to the absorption or otherwise of the present members of the staff?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** There is no question of absorption of the staff. They are all on temporary basis and whomsoever the University might like Government will appoint their own staff.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the persons who are already on the staff will have the right of making application?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** The staff will be appointed by the Government and whoever is found suitable—if the present members are found suitable—will be taken in.

**The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose:** They are all temporary and they have been placed before a Selection Committee. They have made a selection. Some of them might lose their jobs as they do not satisfy the minimum qualification.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Does not the Hon'ble Minister think that the college can be taken over as a whole as was done in the case of Cooch Behar College?

**Mr. Chairman:** That has nothing to do with this question.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Are we to understand that selections of some of the existing members of the staff have already been made?

**The Hon'ble Pannalal Bose:** It has already been made on the 26th November after this question was printed.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Does not the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge think that there is room for B.Sc. (Agri.) in West Bengal?

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** That is a matter of opinion.

#### **The Bengal Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1953.**

**The Hon'ble Iswar Das Jalan:** Sir, I beg to move that this Council concurs in the recommendation of the Legislative Assembly, that the Council do join in the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Bill to amend the Bengal Municipal Act, 1932, introduced in the Assembly as "The Bengal Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1953" on the 26th November, 1953, and resolves that

the following members of the Council be nominated to serve on the said Joint Committee, namely:—

- (1) Dr. Pratap Chandra Guha Ray,
- (2) Sj. Rabindralal Sinha,
- (3) Sj. Sankar Das Banerji,
- (4) Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

#### **The West Bengal Estates Acquisition Bill, 1953.**

##### *Clause 1.*

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Sir, I beg to move that in clause 1(2), line 1, for the word "except" the word "including" be substituted.

The idea of putting this amendment is to do the very thing which the Select Committee after considerable deliberations decided to do, i.e., the inclusion of Calcutta and Tollygunge areas within the provisions of this Bill. Yesterday when I referred to the present Bill as mutilated one, Shri Sankar Das Banerji said he could not find the place where there was mutilation. Now, Sir, it is here where the mutilation has taken place. It is well-known that when an opposition moved an amendment suddenly the Chief Minister accepted the amendment. (The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy: Question. They voted on the amendment.) The Opposition did not want that, It is a statement of fact.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** You must be an astrologer otherwise how could you know what was in their mind.

[3-40—3-45 p.m.]

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** They did not want.

Mr. Sankar Das Banerji was a member of the Select Committee to which the Estates Acquisition Bill was referred, and there were many



[Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty.]

other members. All of them decided upon the fact that Calcutta and the Tollygunge area should be included within the provisions of the Act, and they had fourteen sittings and quite a number of deliberations. So we can take it that the members of the Select Committee actually wanted the inclusion of this area. Why suddenly Dr. Roy took it upon himself to accept the amendment, particularly that sort of amendment from one of the opposition members—a representative of the zemindars, if I may say so—is for Dr. Roy to say. But our information is that it is for protection of certain vested interests in Calcutta. Sir, it is well-known that in Calcutta and in the Tollygunge area there are zemindars who own *bustees*. Now these *bustees* are tenanted to people under the Thikka Tenancy Act. The tenants can be ejected very easily by simply applying for ejectment, and it is for the interest of these zemindars that the Bill as passed by the Select Committee was mutilated. Therefore, Sir, I hold that even at this stage when the Chief Minister and the Minister-in-charge of the Bill have come to know the reactions of the public with regard to this, I think there is yet time to include the Calcutta and the Tollygunge area. Sir, I need not dilate more on this and I hope that the Minister-in-charge will accept the amendment.

**8j. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, this question was raised yesterday in the course of the debate. The Hon'ble Minister in reply said that Calcutta was excluded deliberately because the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 as later amended did not apply to the Calcutta municipal area. Sir, it is hardly true to fact because we know that south of Lower Circular Road the Bengal Tenancy Act does apply—in Tollygunge area, in Ballygunge, Bhowanipore, and all these places the Bengal Tenancy Act applies with equal force as it does in areas outside the Calcutta

municipal area in West Bengal. Then, in the next place, there is the town of Calcutta. Within the Town of Calcutta certainly the Bengal Tenancy Act does not apply, but what does it matter? I think, Sir, the arms of law are long enough to reach all persons who are holding property and are receiving rents from people in the Town of Calcutta. Therefore, Sir, I hold that this exclusion as defended by the Revenue Minister yesterday does not hold good.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra**

**Roy:** It appears to me that my friends in this House always read what has been said in the other House and quote them or misquote them.

**8j. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:**

Sir, on a point of order. It is not usual for members of this House to refer to what has happened in the other House. And then, what Dr. Roy has stated is something which is not a fact.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra**

**Roy:** My friend has told us what happened in the other House regarding the voting on this matter, and I have to refute that argument. My proposition is that none of the members who voted for this amendment has property—I do not have property and none of the members who voted has property in Tollygunge so that that argument which has been trotted out is absolutely out of place in this connection. Sir, the position is this.

[3-45—3-50 p.m.]

It will be recalled that when the Bill was originally drafted, Calcutta was taken out of its purview for the very simple reason that the greater part of Calcutta has been under no zemindar and has been under the Government or khas land. If there were some lands which belonged to the zemindars, they were let out to people on lease who again erected structures which are known as *bustees*. Sir, at one time it was thought that by taking over the Calcutta area included in the

Bill it may be possible for the Government to control the management or mismanagement of the *bustee* proprietors so far as the relation between *bustee* owners is concerned. It was found out afterwards that in majority of the cases the owner himself does not have any *bustee* directly. He leases it out to a particular person and the lessee who erects the *bustee* gives it to the *bustee* owner. By taking away the intermediary interest of the owner who leases out to the lessee we do not control the relationship between the lessee and the *bustee* owner. So, ordinarily the purpose of the Bill has been to take the land out for the purpose of distributing among the landless labourers and *bargadars* but that purpose cannot be served by including Calcutta. We thought there was one reason why Calcutta should be taken that we might control the *bustee* dwellers. Afterwards we found that it would not be possible under the provisions of this Act to control the *bustee* dwellers and therefore there was no purpose in our giving large sums of money as compensation to the owners and proprietors of these areas without our being able to do anything for the actual dwellers. Therefore, it was perfectly correct for us to accept that amendment. It was absolute moonshine that there was revolt in the Party. Those friends who depend upon the report of the Press I sympathise with them. They should look at the actual facts of the case. As a matter of fact voting was pressed on that occasion in the hope that they would find there was defection in the camp of the Congress which they found to their cost to be absolutely out of place. Sir, the position is quite clear. If we have got to pay large sums of money to the owners of these lands without our being able to control the *bustee* dwellers in any sense there is no purpose to spend money. Therefore, we decided to withdraw the Calcutta and the Tollygunge area from the purview of the Bill.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Day before yesterday Dr. Roy quoted very reverently from the Press and now he says that the Press should not be depended upon.

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:**

Sir, I can add very little to what I said yesterday concerning the exclusion of the Calcutta area from the purview of the Bill. As my friend is pressing the amendment, I might still repeat what I said yesterday. Sir, the problems in the Calcutta municipal area are quite different from the problems in the rest of the State.

[3-50—3-55 p.m.]

The antecedents of tenancy in Calcutta are also quite different. The Bengal Tenancy Act does not apply to Calcutta proper. That area is governed by the Transfer of Property Act and the Calcutta Land Revenue Act. There would be very little khas land within that area belonging to the zemindars and nothing would be gained by extending the Bill to Calcutta. Sir, we cannot apply Article 31A to a portion of that area and not apply that Article to another portion of the area. In Calcutta, Sir, collection of revenue is made under the Calcutta Land Revenue Act and not under the Bengal Tenancy Act. Government is the sole proprietor of land in Calcutta. The rent is payable at the rate of three annas per cottah in perpetuity and rent is redeemable and in fact rent in respect of many lands has already been redeemed. Sir, the condition in Calcutta is quite different from that in rural areas. It is a commercial town and it is not possible to dispose of property in Calcutta under this Bill because that will interfere with trade and commerce. You are aware that if we include the Calcutta area within the purview of this Bill, the limitation which may be imposed will be applicable to Calcutta also. My friend, Sir, is aware that in Calcutta a peculiar system of commercial authority is permitted by law to raise money at short notice and thus raise loan on

[The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu.]

a property without using a registered documents. So, in the interest of trade and industry also the Calcutta area should be excluded from the operation of the Act.

Sir, we are particularly concerned, as I said yesterday, that the object of the Bill is to distribute agricultural land. There is no agricultural land in Calcutta and no useful purpose would be served by including Calcutta within the purview of the Bill. No benefit will accrue either to the citizen or to the State and finally I do not think it will be a gainful proposition. Therefore, considering all these matters, we have come to the conclusion to exclude the Calcutta Municipal area from the purview of the Bill.

The motion of Dr. Manindra Mohan Chakrabarty that in clause 1(2), line 1, for the word "except" the word "including" be substituted, was then put and lost.

The question that clause 1 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

#### Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

#### Clause 3.

**Janab Abdul Halim:** I beg to move that the following proviso be added to clause 3, namely:—

"Provided that nothing in this section or in any other part of this Act shall affect any rights or protection enjoyed by 'bargadars' under the West Bengal Bargadar Act, 1950, or any other law for the time being in force."

মিষ্টাৰ চেয়ারম্যান, স্যার, আমি এই "প্ৰভাইসো"ৰা যোগ ক'ৰে দিতে চাই। বৰ্তমানে বৰ্গাদাৰসকলৰ জমিৰ উপৰি কোন অধিকাৰ নাই। ১৯৫০ সালৰ বৰ্গাদাৰ আইনে যোঁটকু অধিকাৰ আছে তাতো বৰ্গাদাৰসকলৰ জমি চাৰু কৰাৰ স্থায়ী অধিকাৰ নাই। বিভিন্ন

উপায়ে এই জমি থেকে জোতদাৰ ও জমিদাৰ তাদেব হস্তচ্যুত কোৱে থাকে। এই সব বিপদ থেকে বৰ্গাদাৰসকলৰ ৰক্ষা কোৱে তাদেব হাতে যাতে জমি ৰাখা যায় সে ব্যবস্থা এই বিলে থাকা উচিত। সেই জন্য এই "প্ৰভাইসো" যোগ দিতে চাই।

#### The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar

**Basu:** Sir, this amendment is misconceived. This Bill has nothing to do with bargadars. Their rights are governed by the Bargadars Act and will not be affected in any way by this Act. We cannot deal with bargadars under Article 31A of the Constitution. We can only deal with him as an intermediary. Sir, therefore, no useful purpose will be served by introducing this amendment into this Bill.

The motion of Janab Abdul Halim that the following proviso be added to clause 3, namely:—

"Provided that nothing in this section or in any other part of this Act shall affect any rights or protection enjoyed by 'bargadars' under the West Bengal Bargadar Act, 1950, or any other law for the time being in force."

was then put and lost.

The question that clause 3 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

[3-55—4 p.m.]

#### Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

#### Clause 5.

**Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee:** Sir, I beg to move that clause 5(a)(ii) be omitted.

Sir, it is stated in the Bill that "rights in *hats*, bazars, ferries, forests, fisheries, tolls and other *sairati* interests....." shall vest in the State. I remember that the Hon'ble Minister yesterday explained that the *hats*, etc., when they

vest in Government will be means of giving employment to those who are now deprived of means of their livelihood. That may be one aspect of the question which cannot be ignored, but at the same time I may tell the House that in the mofussil areas, in the villages, there are small *hats* where 100 to 125 persons assemble and they go there for the purpose of selling their vegetable they produce. I do not think any useful purpose will be achieved by the Government in taking away the rights of the *hats* in such cases, and I think the result will be that as soon as these *hats* would vest in Government they will not find to their interest to maintain the small *hats* in the interior villages and small producers of vegetable who go there will not find any market to dispose of their produce in the villages. I have no objection to the forests and fisheries vesting in Government but these *hats* should not be taken away. Their present *status quo* should be maintained.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, Mr. Mukherjee appears to be labouring under delusion. He seems to think that acquisition of *hats* will lead to the extinction of the *hats*. Nothing of the kind. It means that the State acquire the intermediary interests. We are opposed to this motion of Sj. Mukherjee.

**Janab Abdul Halim:** Sir, I beg to move that in clause 5(c) lines 4-7, for the words beginning with "as it" and ending with "date of vesting" the following words be substituted, namely:—

"notwithstanding any other provision in any other law in existence, any such person having a homestead of 10 cottahs or less in area shall hold the same as a permanent rent-free holding under the State."

[4—4.5 p.m.]

Sir, I beg to move that in clause 5(d), in line 4, after the word

"vesting" the words "at 75 per centum of the existing rates" be inserted.

I also beg to move that the following proviso be added to clause 5(d), namely:—

"Provided that no attachment of immovable property or live-stock or agricultural implements of any person for arrears of rent shall be made."

মিঃ চেয়ারম্যান, স্যার, "কুজ" ৫(সি) সম্পর্কে বলতে চাচ্ছি না যে বর্তমান বিলে আইনের ব্যবস্থা করা হয় হোমস্টেড বেণ্ট-ফ্রী করার জন্য। অসংখ্য গরীব লোক যাদের নিজের বসত বাড়ী নেই এবং যাদের থাকার মত অবস্থাও নেই তাদের ভাড়া দিয়ে, খাজনা দিয়ে বাস করতে হয়। কাজেই বর্তমানে "স্টেটের" অধীনে যাতে দশ কাঠা আশাজ জায়গা তাদের বেণ্ট-ফ্রী হোমস্টেড হিসেবে দিয়ে তাদের থাকার ব্যবস্থা হতে পারে, সেজন্য এই আইনে "প্রভিসন" থাকা দরকার।

সেই জন্য আমি আশা করি এই "প্রোভাইসো একসেপ্ট" করবেন।

"কুজ ৫ (বি)" সম্পর্কে কথা হচ্ছে যে জমির খাজনার হার অত্যন্ত বেশী। "টেন্যান্ট"দের খাজনার হার কমান সম্পর্কে ব্যবস্থা থাকা উচিত। মধ্যস্বত্বভোগীরা বাংলাদেশে ৪ কোটি টাকা সরকারকে দিচ্ছে এবং ১৬কোটি টাকা প্রজার কাছ থেকে আদায় কোরে নিত। তারপরে বাংলাদেশ ভাগ হওয়ার এই গভর্নমেন্টের ভাগে ৫ কোটি টাকা পড়বে। কাজেই বর্তমানে যে হার আছে তার যদি পঁচ পারসেন্ট হারে আদায় করা হয় তাহলেও গভর্নমেন্টের অসহ্য ৩ কোটি টাকা আয় হবে। কাজেই এখানে সে "প্রভিসন" থাকা দরকার যাতে সেই হার কমান হয়। তারপর গভর্নমেন্টই যখন জমিদার হিসাবে পরিণত হবেন তখন এই "প্রোভাইসো"টা যোগ করে দিতে চাই যে যেহেতু গভর্নমেন্ট খাজানা আদায় করবেন ও খাজানা আদায়ের ভাব নেবেন সেই হেতু তাঁরা "সার্টিফিকেট" কোরে কৃষকের স্বাবর অস্বাবর সম্পত্তি নীলাম কোরে এমন কি চাষের গরু বাছুর, চাষের সবজিও নীলাম করতে পারেন। সেজন্য বলতে চাই যে যে জমি কৃষক চাষ করে সেই জমির হাল, বলাদ, কুমির যন্ত্র এবং যা নিজের কাজের জন্য ব্যবহার করে সেগুলো যাতে নীলাম না হতে পারে এই বিলে তার ব্যবস্থা থাকা উচিত।

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** Sir, with regard to the proposition of my friend Shri Debendranath Mukherjee, the position is this. In clause 6 sufficient categories of lands have been exempted which the intermediaries have been allowed to retain. The acquisition of *hats*, bazars, forests, fisheries, etc., is a matter of policy and the Legislature decided that as a matter of policy these should be taken. Tank fisheries have been excluded under clause 6(e). The question of embankment is also involved and it is preferable that embankments should be taken over, improved and developed. Sir, it is possible to work them on the basis of a co-operative organisation. The people in the locality are interested in the proper management of these categories of properties, and if they are taken over and worked on the basis of co-operation it will give an incentive to the local people and create enthusiasm among them. If we leave the *hats* and bazars in the hands of proprietors, in course of time there will be fragmentation which is bound to lead to deterioration.

Sir, with regard to the amendment proposed by my friend Janab Halim, I regret I am unable to accept it. Homesteads are not to be disturbed unless they exceed the ceiling. Homesteads have to be treated as a whole and you cannot take over any land comprising homesteads in excess of 10 cottahs and treat one part as homestead on one basis, that is basis of non-payment of rent, and another part on another basis, that is retention on condition that rent is paid.

[4-5—4-10 p.m.]

Rent is payable in respect of the entire homestead. The decision has been taken to charge homestead or for the matter of that all properties which the intermediary is allowed to retain. There ought to be one universal rule. Government has got to pay compensation to the intermediary and the surplus rent which may be collected will also be

utilised for the purpose of effecting improvement on the agricultural land. That is also a reason why we cannot accept reduction of rent by 25 per cent. Rent is to be assessed and payment is to be made according to the assessment which would be made by the proper authority.

Sir, with regard to the seventh amendment proposed by my friend Janab Abdul Halim section 60 of the Civil Procedure Code governs the matter. Under the proviso to clause (b) agricultural implements, cattle, seed grains, etc., are exempted from attachment. Under clause (c) of section 60 of the Code house and other building materials inside and land appertaining necessary for enjoyment belonging to an agriculturist are exempted from attachment. The amendment is unnecessary and in any case the Civil Procedure Code deals with the matter. In the circumstances I oppose all the amendments which have been proposed.

The motion of S. Debendranath Mukherjee that clause 5(a)(i) be omitted was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Halim that in clause 5(c), lines 4-7, for the words beginning with "as if" and ending with "date of vesting" the following words be substituted, namely:—

"notwithstanding any other provision in any other law in existence, any such person having a homestead of 10 cottahs or less in area shall hold the same as a permanent rent-free holding under the State"

was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Halim that in clause 5(d), in line 4, after the word "vesting" the words "at 75 per centum of the existing rates" be inserted was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Halim that the following proviso be added to clause 5(d), namely:—

“Provided that no attachment of immovable property or live-stock or agricultural implements of any person for arrears of rent shall be made”

was then put and lost.

The question that clause 5 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

#### Clause 6.

**Janab Abdul Halim:** Sir, I beg to move that in clause 6(I)(b), lines 2-3, for the words “whether erected by the intermediary or not” the words “of the intermediary” be substituted.

I also move that for clause 6(I)(c) the following be substituted, namely:—

“Agricultural and non-agricultural land in his khas possession as may be desired by the intermediary concerned not exceeding 25 acres and including any land retained under clauses (a) and (b)”.

I further move that first proviso to clause 6(I)(c) be omitted.

I again move that clause 6(I)(d) be omitted.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Sir, I beg to move that clause 6(I)(c) be omitted.

I also move that the following proviso be added to clause 6(I)(f), namely:—

“Provided that if the land comprised in tea-gardens, orchards, poultry or dairy farms is not used for its respective purpose but is used for ordinary agricultural purposes, the land or part thereof may be resumed by the State subject to the compensation determined in accordance with the provisions of this Act.”

I further move that the following proviso be added to clause 6(I)(g), namely:—

“Provided that the lands lying fallow and not required by such mills, factories or workshops for their manufacturing purposes, shall be resumed by the State subject to compensation determined in accordance with the provisions of this Act.”

[4-10—4-15 p.m.]

#### Janab Abdul Halim:

“অ্যামেন্ডমেন্ট” (৮) সম্পর্কে বিশেষ কিছু বলছি না। “অ্যামেন্ডমেন্ট (৯)” সম্বন্ধে বলতে চাই যে জমিদারদের সম্বন্ধে জমি সীমাবদ্ধ কোরে দেওয়া উচিত। তাতে বিলিবন্দোবস্তের পক্ষে যথেষ্ট পরিমাণ জমি পাওয়া যেতে পারে। এই সমস্ত জমির উপর তাদের আবার নিজস্ব স্বত্ব হিসাবে জমি ভোগ করতে দেওয়া যেতে পারে না। আমরা এ স্বত্বের বিবোধী। বাস্তবিক যাঁরা জমির উপর নির্ভরশীল হ’তে চান তাঁদের জীবিকা, জন্য জমি দেওয়া যেতে পারে, তাতে আপত্তি নাই। মধ্যস্থত-ভোগীদের জমি নির্দিষ্ট হ’লে তাদের জীবিকার পথ বেছে নিতে হবে এবং তারা সে পথ বেছে নিতে পারবে। সেজন্য অকৃষি জমি ১৫ একর দেওয়া হবে, তদুপরি ইনামত বাস্তুভিটা ইত্যাদি দেওয়া হয়েছে। তাছাড়া ২৫ একর জমি দেওয়ার কথা হয়েছে। আমাদের মতে সর্বশাকুলো ২৫ একরের বেশী জমি দেওয়া উচিত নয়। মধ্যস্থতভোগীর পক্ষে ২৫ একর বা ৭৫ বিঘা জমিই যথেষ্ট। তাদের তাতে কৃষির ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে কিংবা কৃষির ব্যবস্থা না কোরে অকৃষি জমিতে শিল্প স্থাপন করতে পারেন। বসতবাড়ী বেখেও তাদের অধীনে যথেষ্ট জমি থাকবে। সেইটাই তাদের জীবিকার জন্য পক্ষে যথেষ্ট। এই জন্য এই “প্রভিসন” এ এই কথা যোগ কোরে দিতে বলছি। তাদের ঋণে ২৫ একরের বেশী জমি পাওয়া উচিত নয়।

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Sir, amendment No. 12 which I have moved relates to tank fisheries. Sir, in the Explanation given in the Bill “tank fishery” means a reservoir or place for the storage of water, whether formed naturally or by excavation or by construction of embankments.”

[Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty.]

Now with regard to this embankment I propose my amendment. You are aware, Sir, that in the tract of area known as Sunderbans considerable areas of land which could have been made available to the tillers of the soil for cultivation is being utilised for fishery purposes and this fishery interest of which, I am sure, the Minister in charge of Fisheries, the Hon'ble Hem Chandra Naskar, knows quite a lot. Some of these are unscrupulous persons.

**The Hon'ble Prafulla Chandra Sen:** He does not eat fish.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** But he trades in fish. If I am not mistaken, in my opinion he knows more about fish than anybody else here. Anyway, I am referring to his connection with fishery interest.

**Mr. Chairman:** You should not make any personal reflection.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** No personal reflection was intended.

**The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy:** But it was alleged.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** May be, if you take it that way. Now what happened in the Sunderban areas? Some unscrupulous persons just with the help of embankments converted quite a good area of land which could have otherwise been cultivable into fisheries. If this piece of land is not excluded from the present Bill what will happen? Many of these persons will continue to usurp good land for fishery purposes which could be better utilised as paddy lands or other sort of cultivable lands. Sir, with regard to this I may refer to the remarks which were made by Mr. J. Llewellyn, I.C.S., the then District Magistrate of 24 Parganas, in 1943.

[4-15—4-20 p.m.]

He said "I endorse wholeheartedly the observation about the selfishness of the zemindars of the Sunderbans and their general neglect. I have proposed to the Government that the new Act should be introduced covering these problems". Sir, these problems will continue to remain if the term "tank fishery" is not accepted.

With regard to amendment No. 13, which I have moved, the purpose is the same. Clause 6(I)(f) reads "land comprised in tea gardens or orchards or land used for the purpose of livestock breeding, poultry farming or dairy". I have proposed in this proviso that if the land comprised in tea gardens, orchards, poultry or dairy farms is not used for its respective purpose but is used for ordinary agricultural purposes, the land or part thereof may be resumed by the State subject to the compensation determined in accordance with the provisions of this Act. The idea is that these areas may be distributed—these lands belonging to the tea gardens, the contiguous areas—as that will employ some more people.

As regards amendment No. 14, the idea is the same. It relates to the land comprised in mills, factories or workshops. It is known that tea gardens and mills acquire large areas and lease them out to tenants. Mills like Bowrea Fort Gloster have extensive areas and they lease out to tenants, they have Estate Department and they get lands under this plea. I think there should be no difficulty on the part of the Hon'ble Minister to accept this simple amendment.

**Sj. K. P. Chattopadhyay:** Sir, I would like to support the motion of Dr. Chakrabarty which refers to tank fishery. Sir, you have not got to go so far as Sunderbans. If you go a few miles outside to Chowbhaga village and other areas you will find large tracts of land which 20 years ago were really good cultivable paddy lands that are now fisheries. These tanks which are

known as *mecho bheries* should be excluded from this Bill, or the Hon'ble Minister can accept some sort of an amendment limiting the areas. This sort of unlimited scope to enclose into *mecho bheries* should not be allowed to the ruination of the paddy lands. There must be a limit.

### The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:

Sir, I shall deal with the amendment of Janab Abdul Halim first. Clause 6(I)(a) is with regard to land comprised in homesteads, the structures are erected by the owner of the land. With regard to the land other than homesteads, very often the structures are erected by somebody else. In some cases a man purchases the land together with the structures or the structures might have been put up by tenants and after ejectment on account of arrears of rent and a purchaser may purchase the whole thing. The difficulty arose in Thika Tenancy Act cases.

[4-20—4-25 p.m.]

It was said that the thikka tenant was a person who was a tenant of the land and that he should put up the structure. The question arose and it was decided by the court that according to the language of the section, unless the structure was erected by the thikka tenant, even if he was a purchaser of the structure, he was not entitled to have it. Therefore, the Act had to be amended. We want to make it clear that not only the intermediary who is the owner of the land and who has erected the structure but also the purchaser or intermediary will also be allowed to retain the land comprising the structure.

With regard to the ninth amendment, this is really a question of policy. The question is how much land should an intermediary be allowed to retain so that he can profitably cultivate the same, and it was decided by the majority of the members of the Joint Committee that 20 acres of non-agricultural land and 25 acres of agricultural

land should be allowed to be retained, of which 15 acres of non-agricultural land should be other than homestead—the total is 20 acres of non-agricultural land. The ceiling has been fixed having regard to the efficient working of the farm. Fixation of a lower ceiling will adversely affect production.

Amendments Nos. 10 and 11 are consequential.

With regard to amendment No. 12, only tank fisheries are exempted from the operation of the Act in the sense that the intermediary is allowed to retain possession on certain terms and conditions. (Sj. K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY: But your definition does not make that clear.) With regard to tank fisheries, they require personal attention and probably they are better managed by proprietors.

Sir, with regard to amendment No. 13, the grant of leases in respect of tea gardens expressly provides for resumption of land for public purposes without payment of compensation. Having regard to the express condition imposed in the leases, Government is able to resume the waste land or lands which are not likely to be used by the tea gardens without payment of any compensation. There is also a provision in the Bill for resumption if the land is not utilised for gainful or productive purpose within a limited time. But, Sir, as you know, the production in tea gardens and the area which must be brought under cultivation are regulated by a Central Act, so that whatever we might do should give way to the Central Act. We must appreciate that in the tea gardens some land is required for growing forests to supply fuel, for growing thatch grass for growing bamboos for the use of the garden. With regard to fallow lands, the question for consideration is that they may be required later on for expansion of the concern. They are required for providing amenities to labour. Sir, these are really non-agricultural



[The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu.]

lands and no useful purpose will be served by taking them over at the cost of the growing industries.

[4-25—4-30 p.m.]

These are my answers to the amendments which have been proposed by friend and I oppose all of them.

The motion of Janab Abdul Halim that in clause 6(I)(b), lines 2-3, for the words "whether erected by the intermediary or not" the words "of the intermediary" be substituted was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Halim that for clause 6(I)(c), the following be substituted, namely:—

"Agricultural and non-agricultural land in his khas possession as may be desired by the intermediary concerned not exceeding 25 acres and including any land retained under clauses (a) and (b)."

was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Halim that first proviso to clause 6(I)(c) be omitted was then put and lost.

The motion of Janab Abdul Halim that clause 6(I)(d) be omitted was then put and lost.

The motion of Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty that clause 6(I)(c) be omitted was then put and lost.

The motion of Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty that the following proviso be added to clause 6(I)(f), namely:—

"Provided that if the land comprised in tea-gardens, orchards, poultry or dairy farms is not used for its respective purpose but is used for ordinary agricultural purposes, the land or part thereof may be resumed by the State subject to

the compensation determined in accordance with the provisions of this Act."

was then put and lost.

The motion of Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty that the following proviso be added to clause 6(I)(g), namely:—

"Provided that the lands lying fallow and not required by such mills, factories or workshops for their manufacturing purposes, shall be resumed by the State subject to compensation determined in accordance with the provisions of this Act."

was then put and lost.

The question that clause 6 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

*Clauses 7-15.*

**Mr. Chairman:** There are no amendments. Unless any member wanted to speak I might put them in one block.

The question that clauses 7-15 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

*Clause 16.*

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Sir, I beg to move that the following new sub-clause be added after clause 16(2), namely:—

"(3) Every intermediary shall have to submit declaration regarding his investment and income from other sources like business, trade, industry, etc., besides the landed property."

Sir, clause 16 relates to the computation of the gross income and net income and the way in which the compensation assessment roll should be prepared. My amendment is a simple one. I have only tried to save Government money. This is to prevent money being

given to persons who have already rehabilitated themselves. For example, say big zemindars like the Maharaja of Burdwan who might be directors of so many other companies or who might have many other sources of income. We need not pay them any compensation or rehabilitation grant. In order to prevent the payment of money to such persons I have proposed this amendment. I do not think I need dilate any more on this point.

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** Sir, the process of determining the income from other sources is hedged with many difficulties. Other than the rights of an intermediary providing basis of assessment of compensation in regard to the interest which is being acquired, we cannot take into consideration his income arising out of other properties which he may have. This has nothing to do with his other sources of income. The other income may be fluctuating so that it may not be possible to take the

other income into consideration. Moreover, it will bring about discrimination which should be avoided. So, Sir, I oppose the amendment.

The motion of Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty that the following new sub-clause be added after clause 16(2), namely:—

“(3) Every intermediary shall have to submit declaration regarding his investment and income from other sources like business, trade, industry, etc., besides the landed property.”

was then put and lost.

[4-30—4-35 p.m.]

The question that clause 16 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

*Clause 17.*

**Janab Abdul Halim:** I beg to move that in clause 17(I), for the Table the following Table be substituted, namely:—

“TABLE.

Net income.	Amount of compensation.		
		Re.	
For the first Rs. 500 or less of net income	..	..	1
For the next Rs 500 of net income	..	..	1
For the next Rs 1,000 of net income	..	..	1
For the next Rs 2,000 of net income	..	..	1
Eor the next Rs 10,000 of net income	..	..	1
For the next Rs 15,000 of net income	..	..	1
Eor the next Rs 80,000 of net income	..	..	1
Eor the balance of net income	..	..	1”

**Mr. Chairman:** Amendment No. 17 is out of order because it would require under Article 203 of the Constitution the recommendation from the Governor which has not been done. Dr. Chakrabarty, you can move your amendment No. 18.

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** I beg to move that in the

proviso to clause 17(i), after paragraph (ii), the following new paragraph be added, namely:—

“(iii) Where the intermediary is found already rehabilitated in any other industry, trade, business no compensation will be paid to him.”

**Janab Abdul Halim:**

মি: চেয়ারম্যান, স্যার; আমি “কমপেনসেশন” সম্বন্ধে কয়েকটি কথা বলতে চাই। বড় বড় জমিদারদের কোন রকম ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়ার কারণ নেই। তাঁরা প্রচুর সম্পত্তি অর্জন করেছেন। যে সব মধ্যম শ্রেণীর জোগীর বার্ষিক আয় ৩,৬০০ টাকা নীচে কৃষি এবং অকৃষি থেকে আমরা তাদের পুনর্বাসন “গ্রান্ট” দেবার পক্ষে; তার জন্য গভর্নমেন্ট পুনর্বাসন কমিটি গঠন করে তার মার্গত তাদের ইহা দেবার ব্যবস্থা করতে পারেন। যতদিন পর্যন্ত এটা না হচ্ছে এবং এতে দীর্ঘদিন সময়ও লাগতে পারে, ততদিন তাদের জন্য ভাঙার ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে।

আমাদের মতে সংবিধান পরিবর্তন করে ক্ষতিপূরণ দ্বারা করতে পারা যায়।

সংবিধান যদি ব্যবস্থা নাও থাকে, ভারত সরকারকে অনুরোধ করে সংবিধানের ধারা পরিবর্তন করা যেতে পারে। এই ব্যাপারটা যদি সঠিক নাও হয়, জমি দেওয়া সম্পর্কে সেইভাবে ভাবত সরকারকে অনুরোধ করে আইন পাশ কববার ব্যবস্থা করতে পারেন। এক্ষেত্রে জমিদারদের ক্ষতিপূরণ না দিয়েও গভর্নমেন্ট সে ব্যবস্থা করতে পারেন। কিন্তু আসলে গভর্নমেন্ট সে ব্যবস্থা করতে চাইছেন না। তারা জমিদারদের ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়ার পক্ষে। আমাদের কথা হল আমরা পুনর্বাসনের পক্ষে এবং যারা মূল ইনকাম গ্রুপ—তাদের পুনর্বাসনের ব্যাপারে তারা যাতে নিজেদের জীবিকা অর্জন করতে পারে তার জন্য ব্যবস্থা থাকা উচিত।

**Dr. Manindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Sir, with regard to the amendment which I have proposed as a proviso to clause 17(i), subparagraph (ii) I intended that the Government money should be saved wherever it is possible. Sir, it is known that the Government is not in a position to pay the compensation to all men all at a time and moreover, there will be cases where the amount of compensation will be very high; in order to prevent that I propose that where we find that the intermediaries have already been rehabilitated, no compensation should be given. I think, Sir, it is self-explanatory.

**Sj. Surendra Kumar Roy:** Janab Abdul Halim has proposed that only one rupee will be given as compensation to the landlords. I think

the compensation that is allowed to the landlords by the present enactment is too low. All the existing landlords were not zemindars from the time of their forefathers. Some of the present landlords have purchased estates at a valuation of 20 or 25 times of the net profits. They are practically going to be robbed by the present enactment.

[4-35—4-40 p.m.]

It is said that the present Government have not sufficient money to pay full compensation and the landlords for the sake of the country ought to be satisfied with such low compensation. Well and good. If this be so, that must be done with good grace and the landlords should not be abused in this way right and left. We must remember how much we all owe to the landlords. Almost all the charitable institutions are their creation. Almost all the religious institutions are maintained by them. They ought to be treated sympathetically and not in this fashion. It is not proper and desirable that they should be abused in this way. When we seek good of the country they ought to be satisfied with the low compensation. Sir, it must be remembered that the landlords invested good money in lands which others have invested in houses, and banks. Why of all persons then these landlords should be sacrificed. There are millionaires who are reaping 6 or 7 times their capital investments in other ways and they should contribute something. Do not sacrifice these landlords alone, that is not desirable.

**Sj. Debendranath Mukherjee:**

স্যার, আমি ঠিক বুঝতে পারছি না যে কোন যুক্তির উপর নির্ভর করে আমাদের বন্ধুরা বলেন যে জমিদারদের কোনকম ক্ষতিপূরণের টাকা দেওয়া হবে না; বিশেষতঃ আমরা দুই একটি বন্ধু বলছেন যে যদি তাদের অন্য কোন জীবিকা নির্বাহের উপায় থাকে তাহলে আর জমির মূল্য বাবত কোন ক্ষতিপূরণের টাকা দেওয়া হবে না। আমি বুঝি না যে আমরা বন্ধুর এই আপত্তির কারণ কি। জমিদারেরা

টাকা পাচ্ছে এর জন্য কি গারান্টি, না বাস্তবিক টেকের প্রতি তাঁদের এত সহানুভূতি যে টেকের টাকা খরচ হচ্ছে তার জন্য এত ব্যথা যে সেটা বন্ধ করা? তাঁরা যদি এটা গারান্টিদের জন্য আপত্তি করেন যে জমিদারদের ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া হবে না, তবে এটা থেকে দুঃখের কথা আর কিছু হ'তে পারে না। তাঁদের এই ঠেঁকা করণ উচিত না। আর তাঁদের অন্য আর আছে ব'লে ক্ষতিপূরণের টাকা দেওয়া বন্ধিত নয় ব'লে যদি মনে করেন এবং সবক'বের টাকা খরচ হচ্ছে ব'লে মনে মনে যদি ব্যথা পান তাহলে আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করি তাঁদের মধ্যে অনেকে আছেন—কেউ হয়ত ওকালতী কোবে অর্ধোপার্জন করছেন, কেউ ব্যাবিষ্টারী কোবে টাকা পাচ্ছেন, কেউ হয়ত শিক্ষকতা কোবে অথ উপার্জন করছেন, তবে তাঁরা জনসাধারণের কাজের জন্য এখানে এসে মাসে ২০০ টাকা কোবে কেন নিচ্ছেন? এম জন্য তাঁদের মনে ব্যথা পাওয়া কিম্বা লজ্জিত হওয়া উচিত। এ টাকা যতক্ষণ নিতে পারছেন ততক্ষণ তাঁদের এ যুক্তির কোনই দ্বন্দ্ব নেই যে অন্য আর যদি থাকে তাহলে গভর্নমেন্টের এই জমিদারদের টাকা দেওয়া উচিত নয়। তাই আমি তাঁদের এ যুক্তির কোনই অর্থ বুঝতে পারি না।

**Sj. K. P. Chattopadhyay:** Sir, in my previous observation, I have asked for the exclusion of the fisheries. During 1944, after the famine of 1943, I had occasion to go round practically throughout the whole of Bengal in the course of relief operations. Sir, I found how the zemindars were callous and indifferent to the hardships of the people. Then President of the District Congress Committee of Nadia and I tried there to persuade the zemindars to help the poor people but none of them came forward, while the common people came to help the poor people. In one case a zemindar refused to lease a *beel* which would have saved fishermen in seven villages. I went to Abad in Khulna now unfortunately in Pakistan and I found the peasantry trying their best to save their lands from flood by putting up embankments. But the [4-40—4-45 p.m.]

zemindars were trying with the help of *lathials* to break up the embankments and inundate the area because the peasants had tried to

save the land without their permission. That is the kind of help that they have been rendering to these people. You have heard a lot about their having put up a few dispensaries and schools, and certainly those who rob Peter to pay Paul can give a few dimes here and there. But what is the amount? If you compare the amount, you will find that it is a very small proportion. There are a few exceptions, there are some good people, nobody denies that.

(SJA. SANTI DAS.)

লর্ডিমালের বেনা কি “এজেন্সন” হ'তে পারে না?) It was the same story everywhere. Not only in Khulna, but it was the same in Mymensingh. I may tell you that in Hooghly also I had occasion to render some relief, as my friends know. And in all these extensive tours I did not see any reason to be proud of these zemindars. There are of course exceptions. I do not see any reason why there should be any annoyance felt at this attempt to right a wrong which has existed for over a century.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** Sir, two of our friends of the Council have stood up to defend a rotten cause. Mr. Mukherjee was speaking in a very faltering voice. Possibly he is not personally convinced that the zemindars have performed any social service to the people of the country. But in spite of that he went on singing the praise of the zemindar. Yesterday I had the honour of drawing your attention to the famous essays written by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee about the zemindars. I hope you will excuse me if I take the liberty of drawing your attention to some of his actual passages. Sir, Bankim Chandra in his well-known essay “Bangla Desher Krishak” writes as follows:—

বরষা চন্দ্র তাই লিখছেন—

“বঙ্গ দেশের কৃষকের শত্রু হইতেছে জমিদার। জীবের শত্রু জীব; মনুষ্যের শত্রু মনুষ্য; ব'হালী কৃষকের শত্রু বাঙ্গালী ভূস্বামী। ব্যাঘ্রাদি বহু জন্তু ছাপাদি ক্ষুদ্র জন্তকে ভক্ষণ করে, বোহিতাদি বহু মৎস্য শকরীদের ভক্ষণ করে; জমিদার নামক বড়

[Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhatta-charyya.]

মানুষ কৃষক নামক ছোট মানষকে উদ্ধৃণ করে। জমিদার প্রকৃতপক্ষে কৃষককে ধরিয়া উদরস্থ করেন না কিন্তু যাহা করেন তাহা অপেক্ষা ক্ষয় শোণিত পান করা [দয়ার কাজ।

দুইশত স্বল্প আয়ের একটি যথার্থ ঘটনা বিবৃতি করিতেছি। একটি তালিকা উদ্ধৃত করিব। যে প্রদেশ এক বৎসর হইল বন্যায় ডুবিয়া গিয়াছিল সেই প্রদেশের এক ক্ষুদ্র গ্রামে এই ঘটনা হইয়াছিল। গ্রামের নাম যিনি জানিতে চাহেন তিনি গত ৩১শে আগস্টের “অবজারভার”এর ১৩১ পৃষ্ঠা পাঠ করিবেন। ক্ষমায় অত্যন্ত জল বৃদ্ধি হইল। গ্রামবাসী সমুদ্রবন্যায় হীপের ন্যায় ভাসিতে লাগিল। গ্রামস্থ প্রজাদের ধান সকল ডুবিয়া গেল। গরু সকল অনাহারে মরিয়া যাইতে লাগিল। প্রজাগণ শস্যহীন। সেই সময় জমিদারের কর্তব্য অর্থদানে খাদ্য দানে প্রজাদিগকে সাহায্য করা। মাগ কবিলেও অনেক উপকার হয়; রাজানা দুদিন রহিয়া বসিয়া নইলেও কিছু উপকার হয়; কিন্তু রহিয়া বসিয়া রাজানা লওয়া দূরে থাক গৌমস্তা মহাশয়েরা সেই সময় পাইক শিয়ারা সঙ্গে করে রাজনা আদায় করিতে উপস্থিত হইলেন। গ্রামে মোট ১২১৪ জন বোধগম্য প্রজা এবং ১২১৪ জন কৃষক প্রভৃতি অপর লোক। একটি তালিকা করিয়া তাহাদের নিকট ৫৪৭০ আদায় করিতে বলিলেন:—

নামেবের পুণ্যাহের নজর ..	৬৭
জমিদারদের ৫ শরীকের নজর ..	৫৭
গোমস্তার নজর ..	২৭
পুণ্যাহের পিয়াদার তলবানা ..	১৭
গোপালনগরের বাঁশ চোলাইএর খরচ ..	১৭
আখাণ্ড কিস্তীর পিয়াদার তলবানা ..	৬০
ভাদ্র কিস্তীর পিয়াদার তলবানা ..	১১০
নৌকা ভাড়া ..	১১০
সদর আমলের পূজার পার্শ্বী ..	৬১০
কাছারীর জমাদার ..	১৭
কাছারীর হালশাহানা ..	১৭
পাঁচ শরীকের পার্শ্বী ..	৫৭
শ্রীবামহরি সেন, হেড মুহুরী ..	১৭
জমিদারের পুরোহিতের ভিকা ..	২৭
গোমস্তাদের ভিকা ..	১২৭
মুহুরীদের ভিকা ..	১৭
বরকন্দাজদের দৌলের পার্শ্বী ..	১৭
ডাক চাকর ..	১৭
মোট ..	৫৪৭০

“বেঙ্গল টেন্যান্সি এ্যাক্ট” হয় এই অবস্থায়।

প্রাচীন হিন্দু রাজ্যে জমিদার ছিল না। প্রজারা ঘটাপ্রাপ্ত রাজকর দিয়া নিশ্চিন্ত হইত।

(Sj. SANKAR DAS BANERJEE: It is a thing of the past.)

[4-45—4-50 p.m.]

Sir, it is not a thing of the past at all. This was the state of affairs just before the Bengal Tenancy Act was passed; since then the situation has not changed at all. These are certain facts based upon actual observations.

তারপরে মুসলমান রাজত্ব কালে—

The great writer writes about the Muslim rulers—

“প্রতি পবগণ্য এক এক ব্যক্তি কর সংগ্রাহক নিযুক্ত করিতেন। তাহারা এক এক ব্যক্তি কর সংগ্রহের “কন্ট্রোল্লর” হয়েছিল।”

That is to say, during the Moghul days the so-called zemindars were revenue farmers or rent collectors. Speaking about the permanent settlement the great savant says—

“লর্ড কর্ণওয়ালিশ বলিলেন যে জমিদারদের জমিতে চিরস্থায়ী স্বত্ত্ব নাই বলিয়া জমিদারদের যত্ন হইতেছে না; জমিতে স্থায়ী অধিকার হইলে পরে তাহাতে তাহাদের যত্ন হইবে এবং তাহারা প্রজাপালক হইবে। এই ভাবিয়া চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তের স্মৃতি করিলেন; রাজত্ব “কন্ট্রোল্লরকে” ভূস্বামী করিলেন।”

Contractors, this was, Sir, the greatest inequity that the British Government have perpetrated in India. Sir, therefore, our point of view is that the zemindars are really interlopers and they do not possess any right in the soil. People who purchased land for value really purchased rights which did not exist. The lands really belonged to the raiyats and the British Government forcibly expropriated from the raiyats and gave them to the zemindars for the purpose of serving their political, economic and other interests. Sir, I would not bother with further quotations from Bankim Chandra. What I have said will certainly convince you that the zemindars really are interlopers and as such they are entitled to no compensation.

Sir, if we look at the manner in which the zemindars either by fair means or foul succeeded in increasing their income from the land which really did not belong to them, you will be surprised that there are people here who would advocate for the payment of compensation to the zemindars.

[4-50—4-55 p.m.]

The revenue was fixed at 90 per cent. of the rental in 1793 but within about fifty years it was reduced to 21 per cent. of the rental. The income that is derived by the zemindars from land is 16 crores but they pay a revenue of four crores or, in other words, the State has been sustaining a loss of 12 crores per year for quite a number of years and in 1935 it was calculated that the zemindars had defrauded the State to the extent of 1,800 crores of rupees. If we look at the problem from this point of view, payment of compensation would be regarded as highly undesirable. Mr. K. P. Mookerjee interrupted me and told me that it happened in the past and is not happening now. You are aware, Sir, that not very far from here in the Sundarbans the zemindars have been oppressing the people now and fair agricultural land is being converted into fisheries for the purpose of augmenting their income. In the Sundarbans under the contracts with the raiyats, that is, under the *Pattahs* that have been given to the raiyats by the zemindars the zemindars are bound to maintain the embankments. They have not done so. It is a matter of very great regret that nothing has been done in the matter by the Government. Recently members of the Legislature have drawn the attention of the Government to it and there are just signs that Government would be moving in the matter, but we do not know when the oppressed people of the Sundarbans get a remedy.

With these words, Sir, I support the amendment that has been moved

by Mr. Halim and I hope that it will receive the support of these benches.

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:**

Sir, I thought that I would not take any part in today's debate. As a matter of fact I assured you yesterday that I would not speak again but after what has fallen from the lips of my young friend, Professor Bhattacharyya and others I would be false to my conscience if I remained silent.

Sir, I do not understand why there is so much objection to the payment of compensation. I think time has not yet come when we could have the right to confiscate the properties of men who are richer than ourselves. Why should not then any compensation be paid to the zemindars and by zemindars one could not mean only those who pay revenues? Innumerable intermediaries in the country are also for the purpose of this Bill to be regarded as landlords or zemindars. Why do you want to deprive them of the legitimate amount of compensation? As I observed the other day, what is the compensation you are paying them? I have made a calculation. The amount of compensation has been provided in the Bill, both in cash and in twenty years' bond. In regard to persons with an income of Rs. 1,000, the extent of expropriation is 45 per cent.; in regard to persons with an income of Rs. 5,000, it is 58 per cent. and of Rs. 10,000 it is 64 per cent.

[4-55—5 p.m.]

Sir, it is a long table. Person with an income of Rs. 75,000 are being expropriated to the extent of 84 per cent.; Rs. 1,00,000 to the extent of 86 per cent. and those whose income is Rs. 5 lakhs—perhaps these are the targets of attack on the part of many of our friends—you are expropriating as much as 92 per cent. while those with an income of Rs. 10 lakhs, 94 per cent. Sir, I ask, is this fair? Simply because the State cannot bear the amount of legitimate compensation is no argument for the

[Sj. Mohitosh Rai Chowdhuri.]

action. Why should not proper compensation be paid, I ask. If you cannot pay proper compensation, do not rob the people of their lands. Is it not robbery? I think, Sir, my friend Professor Bhattacharyya, has heard the name of one gentleman, late Ramesh Chandra Dutt. My friend is an economist, he has quoted Bankim Chandra who was not so much an economist, but was a literary man. I bow down to what has been said by Bankim Chandra but my friend has certainly read Ramesh Chandra. (Sj. NIRMAL CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA: You are a greater economist than Bankim Chandra.) That is neither here nor there. I have read Bankim Chandra as well as the writings of Ramesh Chandra Dutt. Ramesh Dutt was never opposed to the Permanent Settlement, even in 1907, as is known to all. Of course it is too late in the day to make any pleading in favour of the Permanent Settlement. I am not going to say anything in favour of the Permanent Settlement or in favour of the zemindars, but, Sir, this continuous harping on the undesirability of paying any compensation to the landlords on the ground that in the past they have enjoyed much is not very fair. My friends there who are pleading in favour of the tenants, ought to be aware that under the raiyatari settlement whether the tenants hold land direct under the Government they are not much happier than those who hold under zemindars. It is wrong to think that the tenants always were very unhappy under the landlords. Therefore it is unfair to plead that the landlords should be deprived of any amount of compensation, even the small compensation provided for in the Bill.

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** Sir, I do not hold any brief on behalf of the zemindars, but I should call a spade a spade. There should not be any question that we should be grateful to the zemindars for what they have done in the past. There is no doubt that the zemindars established various

charitable institutions like schools, colleges, hospitals, dispensaries and so on and so forth and they constructed many village roads.

[5—5.5 p.m.]

But, Sir, the question now is whether we should continue the old system which has retarded progress in our State. Sir, although we should acknowledge with gratitude the benefits which have been conferred by the zemindars in the past, the social order and considerations of improvement of the living conditions of the people demand that the interest of the zemindars should be taken away and a new system should be evolved for better distribution of land among the cultivators to ensure larger production. Sir, there is no question that compensation has to be paid whether you like it or not. The basis must be a rational basis. Sir, the basis suggested by my friend Janab Halim is a mere mockery. He has suggested that compensation should be paid at the rate of Re. 1 for the first Rs. 500; and Re. 1 for the next Rs. 500; another Re. 1 for the next Rs. 1,000; another Re. 1 for the next Rs. 2,000; another Re. 1 for the next Rs. 10,000; another Re. 1 for the next Rs. 15,000; and another Re. 1 for the next Rs. 80,000—so that whatever your income may be, the grand total of the compensation you would be entitled to would be a grand sum of Rs. 8!

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** They are not entitled to even that.

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** It may be your view. Sir, the table of compensation which is set out in the Bill, I submit, is a reasonable one. The compensation should be such as will assist the rehabilitation of the intermediaries as far as possible. Keeping that consideration in view we have allowed liberal allowances in the case of small income groups at the sacrifice of the bigger income groups. We have introduced the slab system, and compared to the basis decided upon by the other

States it is obvious that our table is more favourable. Sir, I may give you a few figures which will indicate that as regards the lower income groups the compensation which we propose to pay is much less than what is payable under the enactments of the other States. Sir, in the U. P.—my friend Mr. Halim may have got his idea from the Act passed by the U. P. Legislature—compensation has been fixed at a flat rate of eight times. Sir, with regard to a net income of Rs. 500 we propose to pay a sum of Rs. 10,000 as compensation; in Bihar the compensation payable is Rs. 10,000; in U. P. Rs. 8,000; in Orissa Rs. 7,500; and in Assam Rs. 7,500. With regard to a net income of Rs. 1,000 we propose to pay Rs. 19,000, the amount payable under the Bihar Act is Rs. 19,000; under the U. P. Act Rs. 13,000; under the Orissa Act Rs. 14,000; under the Assam Act Rs. 15,000.

[5-5—5-10 p.m.]

With regard to income of Rs. 2,000 we propose to pay compensation of Rs. 36,000, Bihar 36,000, U. P. 20,000, Orissa 27,000 and Assam 24,000. Then, Sir, I shall take another slab, namely, Rs. 10,000. Under our Act we propose to pay 1 lakh 10 thousand, Orissa 1 lakh 14 thousand, Bihar 1 lakh. With regard to income of Rs. 30,000 according to our table, we propose to pay 1 lakh 90 thousand, U. P. 1 lakh 40 thousand, Orissa 2 lakhs 1 thousand. With regard to income of 1 lakh under our Act, the compensation is 4 lakhs, under the

U. P. Act 8 lakhs, under the Orissa Act 4 lakhs 29 thousand and under the Assam Act 5 lakhs. In respect of income of 2 lakhs the compensation under our Act is 6 lakhs, under the Assam Act 8 lakhs under the Orissa Act 7 lakhs 29 thousand and under the U. P. Act 16 lakhs. With regard to income of 3 lakhs, the compensation under our Act is 8 lakhs, under the Bihar Act 8 lakhs, under the U. P. Act 24 lakhs, under the Orissa Act 10 lakhs and under the Assam Act 10 lakhs.

With regard to the smaller income groups we have allowed a very liberal amount of compensation to enable those intermediaries to be rehabilitated and with regard to the bigger income groups, we have been rather drastic in cutting down the compensation which is payable to them.

Sir, my friend Shri K. P. Chattopadhyay has said something about fisheries. We are concerned with evolving a system which will be universally applicable. It is impossible to evolve a system in which there would be no loophole for any particular individual to escape. Sir, the matter was very carefully considered and it is only tank fishery which has been left out from the purview of the Act. With regard to other fisheries the Act would apply.

The motion of Janab Abdul Halim that in clause 17(1), for the Table the following Table be substituted, namely:—

"TABLE.		Amount of compensation.	
Net income		Re	
For the first Rs.	500 or less of net income	..	1
For the next Rs.	500 of net income	..	1
For the next Rs.	1,000 of net income	..	1
For the next Rs.	2,000 of net income	..	1
For the next Rs.	10,000 of net income	..	1
For the next Rs.	15,000 of net income	..	1
For the next Rs.	80,000 of net income	..	1
For the balance of net income	..	..	1"

as then put and lost.



The motion of Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty that in the proviso to clause 17(i), after paragraph (ii), the following new paragraph be added, namely:—

“(iii) When the intermediary is found already rehabilitated in any other industry, trade, business no compensation will be paid to him.”

was then put and lost.

The question that clause 17 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed.

#### *Clauses 18-22.*

**Mr. Chairman:** There is no amendment with regard to clauses 18-22. If any Hon'ble Member wishes to speak on these, he can do so. If there is none to speak, I shall put all these clauses in one block.

The question that clauses 18-22 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

[5-10—5-35 p.m.]

#### *Clause 23.*

**Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty:** Sir, I beg to move that in clause 23(2)(a), in line 2, after the word “table” the words “excepting those intermediaries who have sources of income other than landed properties” be inserted.

Sir, this amendment relates to the manner of payment of compensation. What I have proposed is that payment in cash shall be made in accordance with the provision of the Bill except in the case of those intermediaries who have sources of income other than landed property. I was surprised to hear a few minutes ago that my esteemed friend S. Debendranath Mukherjee does not want such a provision. Well, he is welcome to his own opinion but I still think that in the case of those who have other sources of income we might very well make this provision. Therefore I propose this amendment and hope it will be accepted.

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** You cannot discriminate between two sets of intermediaries—one having other sources of income and the other not. I oppose the amendment.

The motion of Dr. Monindra Mohan Chakrabarty that in clause 23(2)(a), in line 2, after the word “table” the words “excepting those intermediaries who have sources of income other than landed properties” be inserted, was then put and lost.

The question that clause 23 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

#### *Clauses 24-59.*

The question that clauses 24-59 do stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

**Mr. Chairman:** The House will now adjourn for twenty minutes for tea and then we shall have the third reading.

The House was accordingly adjourned for twenty minutes.

(After adjournment.)

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** Sir, I beg to move that the West Bengal Estates Acquisition Bill, 1953, as settled in the Council, be passed.

[5-35—5-40 p.m.]

#### **S. Annada Prosad Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় সভাপতি মহাশয়, এই যে “বিল” আমাদের সম্মুখে উপস্থিত করা হয়েছে এ অল্পক্ষণের মধ্যেই পাশ হয়ে যাবে। কিন্তু পাশ হবার আগে কালও যেমন বলেছি তেমনি আজও দুই একটি বিষয়ে সংকাবেব দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করতে চাই। কাল বন্ধু নির্ভল চন্দ্র ভট্টাচার্য মহাশয় ভূমিদারী উচ্ছেদের জন্য যে কতিপূরণ দেওয়া হবে সে সম্বন্ধে বিশদভাবে বলেছেন। কিন্তু কাল এবং আজ মহীমহাশয় যে উত্তর দিয়াছেন তাতে কোন জায়গায় তার বিশেষ যে কি কারণ তার উল্লেখ আমবা পাই নি। হয়ত তিনি তার কোন কারণ বলাব দরকার মনে করেন নাই বা উল্লেখযোগ্য কোন কারণ নাও থাকতে পারে। কেবল একমাত্র কথা শুনেছি যে আমরা সংবিধান অনুসারে কতিপূরণ দিতে বাধ্য। কিন্তু সে সংবিধান আমরাই করেছি,

এবং আবার খবর যদি ঠিক হয় তাহলে এই বিলের কোন ধারা পরিবর্তন করার জন্য বা কোন ধারা গৃহীতব্য করার জন্য এই সংবিধানের কোন কোন অংশ পরিবর্তন করার জন্য এরা নাকি চেষ্টা করবেন। তাতে সে সংবিধান যে আমাদের নিকট “স্যাক্সাফ্রাঙ্কট”, এই সংবিধানে যে আমাদের হাত বাঁধা একথা আমরা বলতে পারি না, এবং এভাবে হাত বাঁধা হ’তেও পারে না। যদি আমরা এই জিনিষটা গৃহণযোগ্য ও যুক্তিসঙ্গত মনে করি তাহলে সংবিধান বদলে আনার জন্য যেমন কোন কোন বিষয়ে ওরা হয়ত চেষ্টা করবেন সেই বকব ইচ্ছা করলে এ বিষয়েও চেষ্টা করতে পারেন।

তাবপরে স্যার, এই যে “কমপেনসেশন” দেবার একটা কাৰণ বলেছেন যে যাদের জমিদারী নিয়ে নেওয়া হবে, তাদের আমরা বেকার ক’বে দিতে, অসহায় ক’রে দিতে চাই না; তাদের আমরা বিহেবিলিট্টে করতে চাই। ভাল কথা, সেটা বোঝা যায়। কাশ্মীরে যখন জমিদারী নেওয়া হয়েছিল তখন এই “বিহাবিলিট্টেশন”এর কথা বলা হয়েছিল। আমাদের দেশ থেকে তাব বিরুদ্ধে অনেক প্রতিবাদ করা হয়েছিল। কিন্তু আমরা যা দেবো তা কি “কমপেনসেশন” না “বিহাবিলিট্টেশন”এর জন্য?

তাবপরে এই যে ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া হবে তার জন্য অনেক টাকা লাগবে। সেই টাকা কোথা থেকে পাওয়া যাবে সে প্রশ্ন তুলতে চাই না। কিন্তু এই প্রশ্নে কালকেও বলা হয়েছে এবং আজও সেই প্রশ্ন তুলে বলছি যে, এই যে টাকা ক্ষতিপূরণ হিসাবে আমরা এই জমিদারদের দেব সেই টাকা তাঁরা আমাদের দেশে শিল্প এবং ব্যবসায়ের উন্নতির জন্য লাগাবেন, ভার দ্বারা দেশের স্বাঙ্গীন উন্নতি হবে এবং তাতে তাঁরাও একটা কাজ পাবেন, সেজন্য এই টাকা দেওয়া সরকার একথা বলা হয়েছে বটে, কিন্তু সেই টাকা পেয়ে তাঁরা আমাদের দেশে নিয়োগ নাও করতে পারেন। এর উত্তরে মহাশয় বলেছেন, আমরা সেই অবস্থা বিবেচনা কোরে টাকা দেব। কিন্তু আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করি আমাদের দেশের লোকের হাতে যদি টাকা দিয়ে দেওয়া হয়, যদি কিছু টাকা তাঁদের হাতে আসে—সে কম হউক আৰ বেশী হউক—তারা কি কোন শিল্প বা ব্যবসায়ের নিয়োগ করার যে ঝুঁকি তা নিতে কখন এগিয়ে আসবেন? আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করি মহাশয় নিজে কি করবেন যদি তাঁর হাতে কেউ ১০ লাখ টাকা দিয়ে দেয়? তিনি কি একটা শিল্প সেই টাকা নিয়োগ করতে সাহস পাবেন? (গভর্ণমেন্ট পক্ষীয় সদস্য: নিশ্চয়,

নিশ্চয়।) তুনে সুখী হ’লাম। কিন্তু সাধারণতঃ করে না, কতজন করবে তা জানি না; এটা আমাদের দেশের লোকের মন শাড়া দেয় না এটা যেন মানুষের স্বভাব। যদি সত্য সত্যই এই টাকা শিল্প বা ব্যবসায়ের নিয়োগ করতে চাই, শিল্প বা ব্যবসায়ের উন্নতির জন্য তাহলে আমি বলি যে “কাইনালস কর্পোরেশন”—যা আমরা করতে চাইছি তাতে অংশ হিসাবে যেন সবটা না হলেও অংশতঃ রাখা থাকে এবং যে লাভ হ’বে সেই লাভ জমিদারদের বণ্টন কোরে দেওয়া হবে এই কবলে তবে সত্য সত্য দেশে শিল্পের পুসার ও উন্নতি হবে। তা নাহলে মহাশয় মহাশয় যতই বলুন আমরা ধারণা যে দু’দিন পরে দেখতে পাবেন যে বাস্তব ক্ষেত্রে যারা টাকা পাবেন তারা হয় গ্রামে গিয়ে সেই টাকা খুদে খাটাবেন, আর না হয় কলিকাতা ও টালিগঞ্জ—যাক এই বিলের আওতা থেকে বাদ দিয়ে বেখেছেন—সেখানে বাড়ী কোরে তা থেকে ভাড়া আদায় করবেন। শিল্প ও বাণিজ্য কিছুই বাড়বে না। আমাদের দেশের লোকের স্বভাব তা নয়, তারা ঝুঁকি নিতে চায় না—পাবেও না। যদি গভর্ণমেন্ট ঐ বকম শিল্প গড়ে তুলতে চান, এবং ছোট ছোট বা মাঝারী শিল্পকে সাহায্য দিতে চান, তাহলে টাকার “কাইনালস কর্পোরেশনের” হাতে রেখে তার খুদ জমিদারদের দিয়ে সরকার সেই টাকায় শিল্প এবং ব্যবসায় গড়ে তুলতে চেষ্টা করুন; তবে সত্য সত্যই ফল পাওয়া যাবে; তা নইলে নয়।

তাবপৰ তৃতীয় আর একটা কথা, স্যার। মহাশয় মহাশয় বলেছেন যে জমিদারী নিয়ে নিতে চাচ্ছেন, জমিদারের হাত থেকে জমি সরকারের খাসে আসবে; কিন্তু মনে রাখতে হবে সরকারের খাসে থাকলেও খাসমহলেব প্রজায়া সুখী নয়। জমিদারদের টাকা আদায় করতে যদি খরচ ১৬ পারসেন্ট লাগে, খাসমহলে প্রায় ২৭।২৮ পারসেন্ট লাগে; তাতে প্রজায়া ত সুখী হবে না। উনি বলেছেন এরপরে জমির ব্যবস্থার জন্য জমি সংক্রান্ত আইন একটা মৃতবিল আকারে আমাদের সামনে রাখা হবে। সেই বিলের আকার কি হ’বে জানি না। তবে আরও ভাল হ’ত যদি তাঁরা অন্যান্য রাজ্যের মত দুটো বিল একসঙ্গে আমাদের কাছে দিয়ে দিতেন। তাহলে ঝুঝতে পারতাম যে জমির মালিকানা জমিদারের হাত থেকে সরকারের হাতে নিয়ে কি রূপ নেবে এবং তার ভবিষ্যৎ কি, এবং তার দ্বারা কৃষকের মনে কি উপায়ে উৎসাহের সঞ্চার হবে, আর তাব দ্বারা দেশে খাদ্য শস্যের উৎপাদন কি কোরে বাড়বে। এখন এই যে জমিদারের জমি দখল কোরে নিলে

[Sj. Annada Prosad Choudhuri.]

এর পর কি কার্য হবে? যদি সত্য সত্যই জনসাধারণের মনে উৎসাহ সঞ্চার করতে চান তাহলে এর জন্য দু-পদক্ষেপে এগুতে হবে। তাব জন্য কোন বিপুণাত্মক কর্মধারা দেওয়া চাই; এবং কৃষকদের মধ্যে জমি বণ্টন প্রচেষ্টা কোরে সেটা সার্থক করা দরকার। সরকার যে বিল পরে আনার কথা বলেছেন তাতে কি বলবেন যে জমির রাজানা একেবারে মকুব কোরে দেওয়া হউক? হয়ত এতে মনে হবে যে জমির রাজানা বাবত আমবা বৎসবে ৪৮০—৫ কোটি টাকা পাই সেটা কি কোরে মকুব কোরে দেওয়া যেতে পারে? এ সম্বন্ধে আমার কথা এই যে আমরা রেভিনিউ যা পাব তা থেকে খরচ বাহ দিলে যা থাকবে তা থেকে অনেক বেশী পরিমাণ টাকা বোঝাই ও মাদ্রাজ রাজ্যে মাদক নিবারণ করার জন্য তাঁরা ছেড়ে দিয়েছেন। তাগুণেও সে রাজ্যের কাজ চলছে। এখনই আমাদের হয়ত মাদক নিবারণের আয় ছেড়ে দিতে সাহস হবে না। কিন্তু তাঁরা এই আয় ছেড়ে দিয়েছেন এবং তাতে তাঁদের রাজ্য অচল হয় নি। তাই আমবা যদি জমি হাতে নিয়ে কৃষকের মনে উৎসাহ সঞ্চার করতে চাই তাহলে সেই জমি সংক্রান্ত যে নতুন বিল আসবে তাতে যদি বলেন যে জমির রাজানা আমরা চাই না, তবে সেই ৩৪ কোটি টাকা ছেড়ে দিলেও তার জন্য ভাবতে হবে না। আমি বলতে চাই আপনারা ফাইন্যান্স ডিপার্টমেন্টে যৌক্তিকভাবে দেখুন যে “সেলস ট্যাক্স” থেকে যে টাকা পাই এবং যা “ইন্ডেনস” হয় সেই “ইন্ডেনস”টা যদি জনসাধারণের সহায়তায় ব্যয় করতে পারি এবং “ইন্ডেনস”এর টাকার ১৪ অংশ বা ১৫ অংশও যদি পাওয়া যায়, তবে রাজানা মকুব করা হ’লেও তা থেকে বেশী পাওয়া যাবে। আমার মনে হয় এই ভাবের একটা বিপুণাত্মক এবং সুদূরপ্রসারী কর্মধারা নেওয়া উচিত এবং এধরনের “বোল্ড স্টেপ” নেওয়ার কথা ভাবা উচিত।

আব একটা কথা ব’লে বক্তব্য শেষ করছি। এই বিল আসবার আগেই আমাদের যে সমস্ত “মাইন্স” আছে তার বাঁবা মালিক বা বাঁরা তার জন্য “বয়ালটি” পান তাঁরা এর মধ্যেই নানা রকম “স্পেকুলেশন” এবং “ব্যাংকটন” আশ্রয় করেছেন। আমি কোন কোন খনি ব্যবসায়ীর নিকট শুনেছি যে, আমাদের কয়লা, অল্প এই সব খনিজ শিল্প একেই নানা রকম অসুবিধা এবং সমস্যার মধ্যে পড়ে আছে, তার উপর আবার এই জমিদারী বিল আসার কলে কতক লোক নানা রকম “স্পেকুলেশন” কোরে তাঁদের “বয়ালটি রাইট” বা অন্য “রাইট” বিক্রী কোরে আরও অসুবিধার

সৃষ্টি করছেন। তার জন্য আমি মন্ত্রী মহাশয়কে অনুরোধ কবি যে, এই বিল পাশ হয়ে গেলে পর তাঁরা যেন এ বিষয়ে যৌক্তিক ব্যবস্থা করেন এবং যেসব শিল্প—বিশেষ কোরে এই খনিজ শিল্প—বা আমাদের দেশে এই বিল আসবার অনেক আগে বহু লোকের প্রচেষ্টার ফলে গড়ে উঠেছিল—সেগুলি যে এখন নতুন অবস্থার জন্য বিশেষ অসুবিধার মধ্যে পড়েছে সেই অসুবিধা দূর করার ব্যবস্থাও যেন করা হয়।

[5-45—5-50 p.m.]

**Janab Abdul Halim:**

মিঃ চেয়ারম্যান, এই বিলের আলোচনা হয়েছে, এখন বিলটা পাশ হয়ে যাবে, এই সম্পর্কে আমি কয়েকটি কথা বলতে চাই। গতকাল আমি এই বিলের বিভিন্ন ধাৰা সম্পর্কে বলেছি, এবং বিলের জটিল বিচারিত সম্বন্ধে উল্লেখ করেছি। জমিদারদের ক্ষতি পূরণ সম্পর্কে মাননীয় মন্ত্রীমহাশয় বলেছেন যে, সংবিধানে বাধা আছে, সেই জন্য ক্ষতিপূরণ দিতে নাকি তাঁরা বাধ্য। সংবিধান পরিবর্তন ক’বে সে বাধা দূর করতে পাবতেন, কিন্তু তা তাঁরা করলেন না। অর্থাৎ মন্ত্রী মহাশয় সঙ্গে সঙ্গে আশ্বাস দিয়েছেন যে, দেশের উন্নতিমূলক ব্যবস্থা করা হবে। আর একটা বিলের পবিত্রত্বনা কবছেন, তা হাৰা বাংলা দেশকে নতুন করে গড়ে তোলবার জন্য ব্যবস্থা করা হবে। সে বিলের স্বরূপ কি হবে জানি না, আশ্বাস তাঁরা অনেক দিয়েছেন। আশ্বাসের উপর আমাদের ভবসা হয় না।

এই প্রসঙ্গে আমি স্মরণবনের জমিদারদের কিছু বলতে চাই—স্মরণবনের জমিদারেরা কি করে জমির মালিক হ’য়েছেন, সেখানে সাধারণ মানুষ বনজঙ্গল কেটে, জমি তৈরী করে; তারপরে লাটদার, জোতদার ও জমিদারেরা সেখানে গিয়ে তাদের উচ্ছেদ ক’রে জমির মালিক হয়। তারপরে বর্তমানে সেখানে জমির যেভাবে ব্যবস্থা হ’য়ে আছে তাতে সাধারণ মানুষের দুর্দশার চরম হ’য়ে থাকে। কৃষকেরা সেখানে সাধারণ মানুষের মতন বাস করতে পারে না। চাষের জমিকে বিঘাট বিঘাট “কিশারী”তে পবিণত করা হয়েছে—স্মরণবনে ব্যাপকভাবে এই অবস্থা চলছে। আমাদের মাননীয় সদস্যরা এখান থেকে বলছেন, বিশেষ ক’রে মিঃ বুধাজি এবং মিঃ রায় চৌধুরী বলেছেন যে, জমিদারেরা অনেক কিছু করেছেন, তাঁদের ক্ষতিপূরণ দেয়া উচিত তাতে আমাদের কার্পণ্য কেন। আমি আমার পূর্ণ বক্তৃতায় বলেছি গুল ইনকাম গ্রুপএর যারা তাদের পুনর্বাসনের ব্যবস্থা এই বিলে যদি করা হয় সেটা আমরা সমর্থন ক’রব। কিন্তু যারা রাঘব বোয়াল, বড় বড় মালিক, যেমন বর্ধমানের মহারাজা, তাদের ক্ষতিপূরণ দেবার

কোনই কার্য বা যুক্তি থাকতে পারে না। কিন্তু “বৈজ্ঞানিক” জোরে এই “বিল” পাশ হয়ে ক্ষতি-পূরণ দেয়ার ব্যবস্থা হবে। তবে, ১৭৯৩ সালে লর্ড কর্ণওয়ালিস বাংলা দেশের জমির যে চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত করেছিলেন সেটার অবসান হবে বটে, এবং গভর্নমেন্টের হাতে জমিদারী এসে যাবে, জমিদার প্রজাসাধারণের কাছ থেকে আর রাজনা আদায় করবেন না, রাজনা আদায় করার ভার “ষ্টেট” নেবেন, কিন্তু সঙ্গে সঙ্গে সাধারণ চাষী যারা বৃটিশ আমল থেকে গুরু রাজনা ও ঋণের ভার বহন করে আসছে, সেটা মকুব করার কোন ব্যবস্থা এই “বিলে” হ’ল না। অন্য বিলেও এই রাজনা মকুবের ব্যবস্থা হ’বে কিনা তার আশুস পাচ্ছি না। আপাত-দৃষ্টিতে বৃটিশ লর্ড কর্ণওয়ালিসের যে স্টেট জিনিষ সেটাব অবসান হবে বটে, কিন্তু জনসাধারণের কোন মঙ্গল হবে কিনা বলতে পারি না। যদি না হয় তাহলে দেশের জনসাধারণ, দেশের সাধারণ মানুষ এই গভর্নমেন্টের সঙ্গে বোঝাপড়া ক’বে তাদের এ সমস্যার সমাধান ক’বে। গভর্নমেন্ট নিজেবা যে সমস্ত আশুস দিয়েছেন তা যদি তাঁরা পালন না করেন, জনসাধারণই অগ্রসর হ’বে নিজেদের হাতে জমি বণ্টনের ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করবে, এবং নিজেদের উন্নতির ব্যবস্থা নিজেবাই ক’বে, এই কথা আমি জানিয়ে রাখছি।

[৫-৫০—৫-৫৫ p.m.]

### Sj. Rabindralal Sinha:

মাননীয় পরিষদপাল মহাশয়! প্রথমে আমি বাংলার সামন্ততান্ত্রিক ভূমিব্যবস্থার অবসানের এই সুচনাকে অভিনন্দন করি। জানি যে বর্তমান বিধেয়কে আজ বাংলার ভূমিসমস্যার সমাধান হবে না, কিন্তু আমি মনে করি বর্তমান বিধেয়ক সেদিকে প্রথম অথচ দৃঢ় পদক্ষেপ। তাই আজ বাংলাব মানুষ দিকে দিকে এই বিধেয়ককে অভিনন্দন করছে। আজকে এই বিধানমণ্ডলীতেও দেখতে পাচ্ছি যে এই বিধেয়ককে বিরুদ্ধে যে আপত্তি তা প্রায় নিস্তেজ। মাননীয় বন্ধুগণ যারা সরকারী প্রচেষ্টার সামান্য ক্রটিকে অনেক বড় কোবে দেখেন এবং অনেক কাল্পনিক ক্রটি লক্ষ্য করেন তাঁদের কণ্ঠ এই বিলের বিরুদ্ধে তেমন উগ্র হয়ে প্রকট হয় নি। এমন কি মাননীয় বন্ধু অনুশা প্রসাদ চৌধুরীর কণ্ঠে স্বাভাবিক আলা এবার শোনা যায়নি। সুতরাং আমি বলব যে বাংলার সাধারণ মানুষ এই বিধেয়কে অভিনন্দিত কোরে নিয়েছে। চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত বাংলায় যেদিন শুরু হয়েছিল সেদিন বাড়লা তাকে অভিনন্দিত কোরে নিয়েছিল। সেদিন হয়ত প্রয়োজন ছিল স্থিতির; কিন্তু বর্তমানে স্থিতি গতির বেগকে

রুদ্ধ করেছে। কাজেই এই চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত বিষয় হয়ে উঠেছে। তাই আজ এই চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তের অবসানের জন্য বাংলাব মানুষ সবকানকে আশীর্বাদ ক’বে। এই চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তের ফলে ভূমিতে অর্থ নিয়োগ সর্বাপেক্ষা সুবিধাজনক এবং নিরাপদ বিষয় বাংলাব সমস্ত অর্থনৈতিক জীবন ভূমির সঙ্গে অঙ্গাঙ্গিভাবে জড়িত হ’য়ে গেছে। তাই আজকে দেশের অর্থনৈতিক জীবন যেখানে ভূমির সঙ্গে অঙ্গাঙ্গিভাবে জড়িত সেখানে ভূমি সমস্যার সমাধান, ভূমি-আইন সংস্কার ইত্যাদি অত্যন্ত ধীরতার সঙ্গে, অত্যন্ত বিবেচনার সঙ্গে অগ্রসর হ’তে হবে।

একদিন জমিদারদের সঙ্গে বন্দোবস্ত হয়েছিল সবকাবে, কিন্তু তারপরে বড় মধ্যস্বত্বের উত্তর ঘটে। জমিদারদের অধীনে বড় পত্তনীদার, দর পত্তনীদার, মো পত্তনীদার প্রভৃতির স্টেট হওয়ায় বাংলাব ভূমি ব্যবস্থা অনেক বিভিন্ন স্তরে বিভক্ত হয়েছে। আজ ভূমি সমস্যার সমাধান করতে হ’লে এই বিভিন্ন স্তরের কথা চিন্তা করতে হবে, এবং বিনা চিন্তায় এ কাজ করতে গেলে ভুল হবে। মাননীয় বন্ধু অধ্যাপক নির্মল চন্দ্র ভট্টাচার্য্য মহাশয় বলেছেন যে জমিদারদের জমিতে কোন আইনসম্মত অধিকার না থাকায় তাঁরা কোন বরকম ক্ষতিপূরণ পাওয়ার হকদার নন। তারজন্য তিনি বাংলাব ভূমিবিভাগ স্বাধীন ইতিহাসের পাঠ্য পুস্তকের প্রথম পৃষ্ঠা থেকে জৈমিনি এবং সায়নকেও এই পরিমাণ কক্ষে আনয়ন করেছেন। আমি স্বীকার করি যে প্রাগৈতিহাসিক যুগে বা ইতিহাসের প্রথম অঙ্কসারচক্র যুগে কি ছিল বা না ছিল, বা দীর্ঘদিন আগে কি ছিল বা না ছিল, তা বিবেচনা না কোবে আজকে বাস্তব পরিস্থিতিতে এই জিনিষটা বিচার করতে হবে। সেইভাবে বিচার করতে গেলে দেখি যে ১৭৯৩ সালে যখন চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত হ’ল তখন এই জমিদারের আইনগত না হোক কার্যতঃ ভূমির মালিক ছিলেন; তাঁদের বাদশাহী রাজস্ব সংগ্রাহক মাত্র বরমেও অত্যন্তি হবে। তবে আসলে তাঁরাই ছিলেন জমির মালিক, অর্থাৎ ডিজিটর না হ’লেও ডিকার্টও মালিক ছিলেন। একথা স্যার জন সোব এবং লর্ড কর্ণওয়ালিস চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত করতে গিয়ে যে সব “মিনিট” লিপিবদ্ধ করেছেন তা থেকে এটা পরিষ্কার প্রমাণিত হবে। তারপরে গবর্নমন্ট দিয়ে অনেক জল সাগরে প্রবাহিত হয়েছে। তারপরে ওদের সঙ্গে প্রথম বন্দোবস্ত করা হ’ল এবং নানা স্তরে নানা বন্দোবস্ত করার ফলে বিভিন্ন পত্তনীদার এলেন, নিজের গাঁটের টাকা দিয়ে জমির বন্দোবস্ত নিয়ে। প্রথমে যে রাজস্ব সংগ্রাহকেরা

[Sj. Rabindralal Sinha.]

এই বশোবস্ত করেছিলেন আজ মধ্যস্থত্ব অধিকারীদের—বাদের ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া হবে তাঁদের তালিকা প্রস্তুত করলে তাঁদের মধ্যে শতকরা কয়জন তেমন মধ্যস্থত্ব ভোগী থাকবেন তা বোঝা যাবে।

বন্ধু নির্মল বাবু বলেছেন যে, চিরস্থায়ী ভূমি ব্যবস্থার কলে বাংলার শিল্প এবং বাণিজ্য থেকে সমস্ত টাকা চলে এসেছিল ভূমিতে। তা হ'লে এটাকা দিলে কে? রাজস্ব সংগ্রাহক? সুতরাং এই দিক থেকে বিচার ক'রলে আমরা মনে করি জমিদারদের ভূমিতে কিছু অধিকার আছে। কিন্তু আজকে দেশের বৃহত্তম স্বার্থের প্রয়োজনে এবং রাষ্ট্রের প্রয়োজনে সেই অধিকার সঙ্কোচ কবা আবশ্যিক হ'য়েছে। তাই বর্তমান বিধেয়ক আনা হ'য়েছে। কংগ্রেসের বহু বিরোধিতা জমিদারী প্রথা বিলোপ সাধন কংগ্রেসই আরম্ভ করলে। কৃষক এবং রাষ্ট্রের মধ্যে মধ্যস্থত্ব থাকবে না এই ছিল কংগ্রেসের মূল উদ্দেশ্য। আমার বিশ্वास শুধু কংগ্রেস নয়, দেশের সমস্ত স্বাধীন মানুষ এটা মেনে নিয়েছেন। আজ সেটাকে কার্যকরী করবার জন্য এই চেষ্টা হচ্ছে। আমি জানি কায়মী স্বার্থবাদীরা যতই আপত্তি করুক না কেন, এটা নিশ্চয়ই হবে এবং অবশু ভবিষ্যতেই হবে। তবে একদল স্বপ্ন দেখেন বিপ্লবের রক্তাক্ত পথে বহু মানুষকে বহু দুঃখ দিয়ে একাধা সম্পাদন করবেন। কিন্তু আমি বিশ্वास করি যে ক্রমসংস্কারের মধ্য দিয়েই এ কার্য সফল হবে, এবং তাতে যত কম মানুষকে যত কম বেদনা দিয়ে এবং সমাজজীবনে কম আলোড়নের সৃষ্টি কোবে এ কাজ করা যায় এইটাই কংগ্রেসের বিরোধিতা নীতি। তবু আজকে এই বিধেয়কের বিরুদ্ধে আপত্তি নানাস্থান থেকে আসছে। আপত্তি যা আসছে সেটা বিচার করতে গেলে আপত্তিকারীদের প্রকৃতি বিচার করতে হবে। আপত্তিকারীদের মধ্যে দেখছি একদল আছেন যঁরা কায়মী স্বার্থ-সম্পন্ন লোক। এরা মনে করেন যে এই বিধায়কের দ্বারা তাদের পুরুষানুক্রমিক স্বার্থ ব্যাহত হ'তে চলেছে; কিন্তু তাঁরা জানেন দেশের জনমত এই বিধেয়কের পক্ষে, সেজন্য প্রকাশ্য এবং স্পষ্টভাবে এর বিরুদ্ধতা করতে সাহস করেন না এবং অন্য পথ দিয়ে ঘুরে যান। সেই জন্য ওরা বলেন কলিকাতাকে এই বিধেয়কের আওতা থেকে বাদ দেওয়া হয়েছে বলে তাঁরা সংশোধনী বিধেয়ক আনাব কথা বলেন না। কিন্তু রাষ্ট্রপতির কাছে আবেদন করেন যাতে সমগ্র ব্যবস্থাতা বাতিল হয়ে যায়।

এই একটা দিক; আর এক দিক আছে। মানুষের স্বাধীনতা যদি থাকে, মানুষের নিজের চাখের জমিতে

অধিকার যদি না থাকে তাহলে দেশে বিপ্লবাত্মক পরিবর্তন আসবে, দেশে অশান্তি চিরস্থায়ী হবে। এই চিরস্থায়ী অশান্তি না থাকলে বিপ্লবাত্মক পথে, রক্তপিচ্ছিল পথে তাঁরা ক্ষমতা হস্তগত করতে পারেন না; কিন্তু কংগ্রেসের আজ এই বিল আনাব কলে তাঁদের সেই প্রচার এবং তাঁদের স্বপ্ন ব্যর্থ হ'চ্ছে। কাজেই তাঁদের গাঢ়শঙ্কায় কথা সহজেই বুঝতে পারি। বাদের কাছ থেকে এই বিধেয়কের বিরুদ্ধে আপত্তি আসছে তাঁদের আপত্তির প্রকৃতি বিচার করলে দেখতে পাই যে আপত্তির প্রকৃতি হচ্ছে করণ এবং অকরণ জনিত অপরাধ “সেন্স অফ কমিশন এন্ড অমিশন”। তাঁরা বলেন এই বিধেয়কের সাহায্যে ভূমি বণ্টন ব্যবস্থা হবে না। বাংলার ভূমি বণ্টন ব্যবস্থা অত্যন্ত সমস্যাসঙ্কুল; কারণ, বাংলার যে কর্ণযোগ্য ভূমি এবং ভূমির উপর নির্ভরশীল মানুষ এই দুইয়ে সমতা এবং সাম্য কবা দুর্লভ। তার উপরে পূর্ব বাংলার বহু ভূমিহীন মানুষের আগমনে এই সমস্যা আরও কষ্টকাকারী হয়েছে। কাজেই এই সব সমস্যার বিচার করতে হবে এ ভূমি সমস্যার সমাধানকল্পে।

তারপরে আজকে ভূমিতে উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি করবার জন্য মূলধন কোথায়? সেজন্য রাষ্ট্রকে মূলধনের ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে। তা নাহ'লে এবং “ক্রেডিট” এর ব্যবস্থা যদি না থাকে তাহ'লে ভূমি দিয়ে দিলেও কাজে আসবে না, বহু ভূমি কষিত হবে না। সুতরাং এ সমস্যাও বিচার করতে হবে।

আবও একটা কথা আছে। ভূমি সমস্যা সমাধানে কায়মী স্বার্থসম্পন্নদের ঘা লেগেছে, তাঁরা বলেন “বিনা যুদ্ধে নাহি দিব সূচাগ্র মেদিনী,” কায়মী স্বার্থবাদী বিনা যুদ্ধে পরাজয় বরণ করেন না। এই যে বিধান বচিত হচ্ছে তার বিরুদ্ধে এখনই গুনতে পাচ্ছি কায়মী স্বার্থের মানুষেরা আইনজের পরামর্শ গ্রহণ করছেন, সুতরাং এ নিয়ে মানলা মোকদ্দমার সৃষ্টি হবে। সুতরাং এই প্রথম অংশ নিয়ে মানলা মোকদ্দমা চলার মধ্যে দ্বিতীয় অংশ যদি ক'বে কেলসে পাবেন তাহ'লে কার্য তবানিত হবে, এই স্বরিত গতিতে কার্য করার জন্য সবকাবকে অভিনিশ্চিত করা উচিত, নিশ্চয় করা নয়। তারপরে অর্থনৈতিক হিসাবে কৃষকের এক এক জনকে ভূমি দিতে হবে, এবং সেই ভূমি পুনরায় যেন বিভাগ বণ্টন না হয়। এ তাঁদের অকরণজনিত অপরাধ: আর করণজনিত অপরাধের মধ্যে তাঁদের ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া বড় কথা। এ লব্ধে আমি বলতে চাই যে সংবিধানের যে বিধান সেকথা মাননীয় বন্ধু অনুশা বাবু বলেছেন; কিন্তু সে বাধা মাত্র “টেকনিক্যাল” বাধা বোলে মনে করি

না, সেটা সমগ্র ভারতের শুভবুদ্ধির পরিচায়ক। এই সংবিধান যে নীতিতে করা হয়েছে' যে কোন মানুষের সম্পত্তি গ্রহণ ক'ব না তাকে তাব পবিবর্ডে উচিত কিছু না দিয়ে। আজ আমাদের এটা ক্ষতিপূরণ নয়, কারণ বহুমূল্য সম্পত্তি রাষ্ট্র সামান্য ক্ষতিপূরণ দিয়ে গ্রহণ করছেন।

আর একটি কথা এই ক্ষতিপূরণ সম্পর্কে উঠেছে। যারা বিবাত বিত্তশালী জমিদার, বা মধ্যস্বত্বাধিকারীদের মধ্যে অত্যন্ত বিত্তশালী থেকে আবস্ত কোবে অল্প বিত্তশালী মানুষ যারা আছে তাবা নিজের পায়ে দাঁড়াবার চেষ্টা ক'ববে। একদিন চিবহাযী বন্দোবস্তের ফলে বাড়ালীর টাকা শিল্প বাণিজ্য থেকে ভূমিতে চলে এসেছিল, আজকে ভূমি থেকে শিল্প বাণিজ্যে টাকা নিয়োগ না ক'বলে বাংলার বেকাব সমস্যাব কি কারে সমাধান হবে? মানুষকে কষ্টে নিযুক্ত হ'বাব কোন "সোর্স" যদি না দেওয়া যায় তাহলে কোথায় তাব নিয়োগ হবে? অনুশা বাবু বলেছেন হয়ত এই টাকা শিল্পে নিযুক্ত হবে না। আমি কিন্তু তাঁর মত নিবাসবাদী নই। তাছাড়া মানুষ অর্ধেক এমনি বসিয়ে রাখবে না; তাঁরা কিছু স্বদ কিছু বিচার্য" চাইবেন। স্বতরাং টাকা যে পড়ে থাকবে তা বনে হয় না। (জেনৈক সদস্য: শুধু ব্যাঙ্কে ফেলে রাখবে।) সমস্ত টাকা যদি ব্যাঙ্কে পড়ে থাকে তাহ'লে ব্যাঙ্কের স্বদের হার এত কমে যাবে যে ব্যাঙ্কে এই টাকা রাখা চলবে না। স্বতরাং এই টাকা দিয়ে নতুন কোবে শিল্প ক'বতে মানুষ বাধ্য হবে এবং শিল্পের উন্নতি হ'লে বাংলার সর্বাঙ্গীন উন্নতি হবে।

আর একটি কথা--সবকাবের প্রুতি অবিশ্বাস। সেই অবিশ্বাস বলে অন্ধ হয়ে এমন সব কথা বলা হয় যা মোটেই যুক্তিসঙ্গত নয়। মানুষকে একজায়গায় না একজায়গায় বিশ্বাস স্থাপন করতেই হবে। রাষ্ট্র পরিচালনার ব্যাপারে দেশের অধিকাংশ জনমতের সমর্থনে রাষ্ট্রতরণীর কর্ণধারদের রাষ্ট্র পরিচালনা করবার কাজে সহায়তা দেবার জন্য সরকারের উপর বিশ্বাস ন্যস্ত করতে হবে। একথাটা বিরুদ্ধ পক্ষীয় সমালোচকদের সুরণ রাখা উচিত।

আর একটি কথা--মাননীয় বন্ধু মহীতোষ বাবু বলেছিলেন যে, মধ্যস্বত্বাধিকারীদের যে বসত বাড়ী তার উপর যেন কোন রাজ্যনা ধাৰ্য না থাকে। সেবানেও আমরা একমত হ'তে পাবি না। কেন না রায়ত যদি বসত বাড়ীর জন্য রাজ্যনা দেয় তবে মধ্যস্বত্বাধিকারী দেবে না কেন? রাষ্ট্রে এ প্রভেদ কেন দুজনের মধ্যে হবে? স্বতরাং সর্বদিক দিয়ে বিবেচনা করলে আবি বলি না যে এর দ্বারা ভূমি

সমস্যার সমাধান হ'য়ে গেল; কিন্তু বর্ডান বিধেয়কে ভূমি সমস্যা সমাধানের দিকে যে অগুণমনের সূচনা করছে সেটা জনশ্রুয় সরকারের চেষ্টায় এগিয়ে চলে যাবে এবং বাংলার যে জটিলতম ভূমিসমস্যা তার সমাধান হবে।

[6-5—6-10 p.m.]

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhatta-charyya:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thought that I would not make any observations at the closing stage of the discussion of the Bill but my friend Mr. Sinha has sought to mislead the House by quoting what he supposed to be history but which is absolutely unhistorical. Mr. Sinha has relied upon an old and antiquated saying of Sir John Shore. He is possibly aware of the fact that another very great contemporary of his Grant, a very well-known land revenue administrator of the time holding the view that the zemindars were by no means the proprietors of the soil but more than 70 years after came the great rent case. As a lawyer he will possibly permit himself to be guided by the judgement of Their Lordships delivered in the great rent case in 1865 nearly 70 years after his great authority Shore. Sir, in the course of delivering their judgement Their Lordships remarked as follows:—"The Regulations teem with provisions quite incompatible with any notion of the zemindar being the absolute proprietor." Other distinguished Judges also took the same view. Mr. Justice Trevor agreed with this majority opinion. Mr. Justice Macpherson remarks "as regards legislation from 1793 down to Act X of 1859 shows clearly that the zemindar never was and never was intended to be the absolute proprietors of the soil." Mr. Justice Seton Kerr remarks that neither by Hindu, by Muhammadan or by Regulations any absolute right of property in land vested in the zemindars to the exclusion of others' rights. Sir, that is the position and this was the judgement of the learned Judges in the great rent case. So after this I hope the members will not run

[Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhatta-charyya.]

away with the impression that even under the Regulations the zemindars were absolute proprietors.

[6-10—6-15 p.m.]

That was perhaps the evil design of some of the administrators including Shore and Cornwallis. But Their Lordships had an impartial consideration and came to the definite conclusion that the Regulations teemed with provisions quite contrary to the idea of zemindars being the absolute proprietors. My contention was that if they were not the owners of the soil, they could not be the proprietors of the soil and nobody who purchased the land from those people who were forcibly placed in the position of zamindars purchased what is nothing but trash and therefore were not entitled to compensation.

Sir, we have made our position quite clear. We have welcomed the principle underlying the Bill, namely, the abolition of the Permanent Settlement and then acquisition by the State of the intermediate rights and acquisition by the State of any surplus land from the intermediaries subject to a ceiling. I believe and those of us who have criticised the Bill from our point of view also believe that these are very salutary principles and we regard these principles as a first step towards the establishment of a new social order. But we also think that much will depend upon the nature of the reform Bill which the Revenue Minister has promised will be introduced in the next session of the Legislature. From what he has told us we feel slightly encouraged but we do not know what shape ultimately the reform Bill will take. I am one of those who believe that no foolproof blueprint of land laws can be created all on a sudden and I do not object to the view that the Revenue Minister has taken to the formulation of another Bill, namely, the Land Reform Bill. It has to be remembered that the essence of good Government does not lie in passing

a few salutary Acts. That essence lies in applying them to the objective situations and much will depend upon the Government as to how they are going to implement those Acts. That is a problem which has to be faced with very great determination. There is a suspicion in the public mind that just as the Khas Mahal Department of the Government is functioning as zemindars so in future also the State will step into the shoes of the zemindars and behave almost in the same manner. These are certain misgivings in our mind which have got to be borne in mind.

While we were discussing this Bill we have disputed every inch of the ground which we thought ought to be disputed. In this dispute and in our discussion from this side of the House we have been considerably handicapped by the presence of two Fifth Columnists in the opposition—

**Mr. Chairman:** I think that is not a proper language to use in reference to honourable members of this House.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhatta-charyya:** All right, Sir, I withdraw it but I want to know whether it is unparliamentary.

**Mr. Chairman:** I do not know whether that expression is strictly unparliamentary as it is a new one in English but I think it should not be used in reference to another member of the House.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhatta-charyya:** I have withdrawn it, Sir. I was arguing that we have been considerably handicapped by the presence of some people who sought to out-Herod Herod. While in the Congress benches there was not one member who stood up and supported the Permanent Settlement, two members from this side have stood up and done so.

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:** Unlike others, Sir, we can call a spade a spade and we have got the courage of conviction to do that.

**Sj. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya:** But they have not the courage of conviction to cross the floor.

Sir, my friend Mr. Choudhuri has roused in our mind a very great doubt.

[6-15—6-20 p.m.]

He asks where is the guarantee that the money that the State will be paying by way of compensation will be invested in industries. Mr. Sinha is almost sure that this money will flow into industry but is he aware of the fact that the black-marketeers have put their black money into the vault? Is he not also aware of the fact that Bengali capital is extremely shy? Does he not also know that the Bengali capital is being slowly pushed out from the field of industry? Equally these industrialists are really speculators and not like western industrialists. Taking all these things into consideration a doubt, I am sure, will arise in his mind also whether this money will be invested in industry or not. You are aware, Sir, that our money are helping European industries, such as mining, etc. For instance, the Bengal Coal Company, the Equitable Coal Company. These coal companies will continue. What are we going to do about it? We are thinking in terms of 5-year plan but what will happen if we give a sort of blank cheque to these people to exploit the country for any length of time?

Before I close, Sir, I must pay a compliment to the Revenue Minister who has conducted the deliberations of this House as the person responsible for sponsoring the Bill with consummate ability. I particularly appreciate his introductory speech. I hope that he will continue to be the Revenue Minister, say, till the proposed reformed Bill is enacted in the near future. When these Bills are passed into Acts they will really become instruments of great benefit to the people of our country. This day when the Upper Chamber

is going to pass this Bill into an Act will perhaps be written in history. It will be written that the first step towards the establishment of a new order has been taken and the action of the Revenue Minister and also of the Chief Minister will be appreciated with the humbler folk who have taken part in the deliberations of this House in placing this Bill on the Statute Book. Sir, the peasantry of Bengal have been a long suffering lot, a long suffering race of people. It was the peasants of Bengal who for the first time rose to revolt against the British Imperialism, in the first quarter of the 19th century. The Wahabi revolution was started very largely by the peasants, not because of its religious implication, but because the peasantry was being oppressed by the Government and their agents, the zemindars. Then came the Indigo rebellion and there were other minor rebellions too.

[6-20—6-25 p.m.]

After nearly 160 years some kind of justice or the beginning of some kind of justice is going to be met, and I hope, Sir, that the Party that has been responsible for bringing forward this Bill and largely responsible for passing this into Act will see to it that the peasants actually benefit by it, and we shall depend upon this party to deliver the goods. Thank you, Sir.

[6-25—6-30 p.m.]

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:**

মাননীয় সভাপতি মহাশয়, আমি কিছু বলব এ ইচ্ছা ছিল না। কিন্তু আমার অধ্যাপক বন্ধু আমার উপর এবং আমার অনুপস্থিত বন্ধু দেবেন্দ্র নাথ মুখোপাধ্যায়কে উপলক্ষ্য করে যেভাবে এবং যে ভাষায় আক্রমণ করেছেন তাতে—

**Mr. Chairman:** He has withdrawn that expression. You can speak if you like, but he has withdrawn that expression.

**Sj. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:**

“পারসোনাল এন্সপ্লেনেশন” হিসাবে আমার কিছু বলা দরকার।



**Mr. Chairman:** It is not necessary now.

**8]. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:**

কিন্তু আমার বিশ্বাস তিনি যে বিপ ছড়িয়েছেন সেটা রয়েছে গেছে। সুতরাং এ সম্বন্ধে আসার কিছু বলা উচিত। বন্ধু সের্বেশ নাথ এখানে নাই, সুতরাং তার পক্ষ হয়েও আমাকে ২১১ টি কথা বলতে হচ্ছে। আমার বন্ধু নির্মল বাবুর বক্তৃতা বিশেষ ভাবে শুনলাম। শেষের দিকে তিনি আমাদের বন্ধী মহাশয়ের যে ভাবে ক্ষতিবাদ করলেন কই আমবাও ত তা করিনি। তাহলে তিনিও ত “বিলকে” সমর্থনই করলেন। কিন্তু কৃষ্ণের বিষয় তিনি আমাদের অযথা নিশা করলেন। আমরা অন্ততঃ এইটুকু বলতে পারি যে আমরা দলীয় স্বার্থবুদ্ধির দ্বারা বা কোন রাজনৈতিক উদ্দেশ্য দ্বারা প্রণোদিত হয়ে এ “বিল” সমর্থন করি নি। সেভাবে কাজ করবার আমাদের প্রবৃত্তি নাই, বয়সও নাই— ৬৪ বছর বয়স হয়ে গেল আমার। আমি যেমন জেনেছি যেমন বুঝেছি সেই রকমই বলেছি। “সিলেক্ট কমিটিতে” এই “বিল” নিয়ে ১৭ দিন পর্য্যন্ত আলোচনা করেছি। বাংলা ভূমিস্বয় সমস্যা নিয়ে একদা ১২ বছর ধরে নাড়াচাড়া করেছি। ইতঃপূর্বে বাংলার “টোনালি এ্যাক্ট” এর যখন “অ্যামেন্ডমেন্ট” হয় তখন কোন বিশিষ্ট সংবাদপত্রের সঙ্গে জড়িত ছিলাম, সহযোগী সম্পাদক হিসাবে সেই “বিল” বিশ্লেষণ কোরে প্রায় ১৫টা সম্পাদকীয় মন্তব্য সে সম্বন্ধে লিখেছি। সুতরাং বাংলার এ ভূমি সমস্যা সম্বন্ধে অনেক পূর্ব থেকেই বন্ধু নির্মল ভট্টাচার্য্য মহাশয় কেতাবের ভিতর দিয়ে যা দেখেছেন তার চেয়ে ঢের বেশী আমার জানা আছে। তাই এই কথাই আমি বলেছিলাম এবং অধ্যাপক নির্মল ভট্টাচার্য্য মহাশয়ও তার প্রতিশ্রুতি করলেন। যে সমস্ত দিক দিয়ে বিবেচনা কোবে দেখলে বর্তমান পরিস্থিতিতে এর চেয়ে ভাল “বিল” হতে পারতো না (সাধুবাদ ও আনন্দধূনি) এ “বিলে” যা পোষ আছে কাল তারও উল্লেখ করেছি। কিন্তু সেই যা ২১১টি ক্রটি আছে সে বিষয়ে কেউ কিছু বলা প্রয়োজন মনে করেন নি। তাদের সমস্ত আক্রমণ গিয়ে পড়েছে এক “কমপেনসেশন” দেওয়ার ব্যবস্থার উপর। ওঁরা “কমপেনসেশন” কিছুই দিতে চান না। জমিদারদের দেখে ওঁদের চোখ টাটায় কেন? সত্যকার জমিদার দেশে কজন আছে? অধিকাংশ লোকই ত মধ্যস্থতের অধিকারী পরীষ; তাদের মধ্যে আবার যাদের বার্ষিক ১ হাজার টাকার কম আয় তাদের ৪৪ পারসেন্ট কেড়ে নিচ্ছেন। এতেও বামপন্থী বন্ধুরা খুসী নন? তবুও ত বামপন্থী বন্ধুদের শাসন এখনও প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয় নি, এখনও “অরগানাইজড ব্রিগেন্ডেজ স্যাসও” হয় নি। বন্ধুরা

কি ভবে গভর্নমেন্টের কাছে চান যে “অরগানাইজড ব্রিগেওজ” এরনই আরম্ভ হোক? কার আগে কি স্বয় ছিল, কার ছিল না আজ এ বিচার কোরে লাভ নাই। আজ যদি অনাধ্যোয়া এসে বলে যে ভারতবর্ষ তাদের কারণ তাদেরই আগে এদেশ ছিল এবং আধ্যোয়া এসে তাদেরই তাড়িয়ে দিয়ে দেশ দখল কোরে নিয়েছিল, তাহলে সে যুক্তি কিভাবে বন্ধুরা বণ্ডন করবেন? তাই বলে জমি আগে কাদের ছিল, কাদের ছিল না এসব যুক্তি তুলে লাভ নাই। যাদেরই থাক ন কেন, যে “সিসটেম”টা এতদিন পর্য্যন্ত চলে এসেছে যাতে কোরে মধ্যস্থতভোগী বহু লোকের উৎপত্তি হয়েছে তাদের তাড়িয়ে দিতে গেলে আজ বিশেষ অবিচারের কাজ হবে। আর যদি তাদের তাড়াতেই হয় তাহলেও কি একেবারে কিছু মাত্র ক্ষতিপূরণ না দিয়েই বিভাঙিত করবেন? এটা কি ন্যায়বুদ্ধিসম্মত কাজ হবে? আমার মনে হয় এমনতর কাজের স্বপক্ষে কোনও “আরগুমেন্ট”ই দিতে পারবেন না। আমি ক্ষতিপূরণের টাকা দিতে পারব না, অতএব কেড়ে নিলাম এটা কি যুক্তি? তুমি “ষ্টেট” তুমি গায়েব জোবে বলতে পার আমি ক্ষতিপূরণ করতে পারবো না, আমি কেড়ে নেব, তুমি “ষ্টেট”, তুমি শক্তিশাল, তুমি নিশ্চয়ই একথা বলতে পার। কিন্তু একথা বললে সেটা অবিচারই হবে। এতে “লজিক” কিছু থাকবে না, “জাষ্টিস” বা “ক্যামারনেস” কিছুই থাকবে না। পশ্চিম বঙ্গ গভর্নমেন্ট তাই জিনিঘটাকে এভাবে বিবেচনা করেন নি; তাই তাঁরা সামান্য কিছু “কমপেনসেশন” দিবার ব্যবস্থা করেছেন সেটাতে চোখ টাটায় কেন? যে “কমপেনসেশন”-এর ব্যবস্থাতে সকলেরই রাজী হওয়া উচিত; সেটা ত বামপন্থী বন্ধুদের “প্রিন্সিপল”এরও বিরোধী নয়। কারণ তাঁরাও ত বলছেন “রিহ্যাবিলিটেশন গ্রাণ্ট” দেব। আমাদের দেশে চলিত কথায় বলে “যার নাম ভাঙ্গা চাল, তার নাম বুড়ি” অনুশা বাবু বললেন “রিহ্যাবিলিটেশন গ্রাণ্ট” দিলে তাঁদের আপত্তি ছিল না, “কমপেনসেশন”ই যত আপত্তি। আমি বলি আগে কেন একথা বলেন নি? তাহলে আমিই “সিলেক্ট কমিটিতে” প্রস্তাব করতাম যে “কমপেনসেশন” কথাটা উঠিয়ে দিয়ে “রিহ্যাবিলিটেশন গ্রাণ্ট” কথাটা ব্যবহার করা হোক। তাতে ওদের মনে হয়ত কিছু আনন্দ হ’ত। কিন্তু “রিহ্যাবিলিটেশন গ্রাণ্ট”ই বা কি দিচ্ছেন যে দেখে চোখ টাটায়? বড় বড় জমীদারদের ৯৪ পার সেন্টই “কনফিসকেট” করছেন। মাত্র ৬ পার সেন্ট তাঁরা পাচ্ছেন। এইটুকুও সহ্য হচ্ছে না? “লিগালা-লাইজড ব্রিগেওজ” এর দিন হয়তো আসছে। কিন্তু এখনও ত আসেনি; স্বত্বাধীন না আসে ততক্ষণ

পূর্বাত গভর্নমেন্ট সেটাকে যে প্রণয় দেন নি সেজন্য বনাবাদ। এই কথাগুলিই যাত্র আমরা বলেছি, এরই জন্য নির্মল বাবুদের চোখে একেবারে আমরা “কিফত কলমিট” হয়ে গেলাম, “ট্রোচারস” হয়ে গেলাম। যাহোক তাঁরা আমাদের উপর যত খুসী ব্যাঙ্গোক্তি করতে চান করুন। কিন্তু তাঁরা জেনে রাখুন আমরা সত্য ও ন্যায়কে বিসর্জন দিয়ে শুধু দলীয় স্বার্থ বা রাজনৈতিক বুদ্ধির দ্বারা পরিচালিত হয়ে কাজ করতে এখানে আসি নি। সত্য বোলে আমরা যা বিবেচনা ক’রব, নিরপেক্ষভাবে বিচার বিবেচনা ক’রে যা ভাল ব’লে বুঝবো তাই করতে আমরা এসেছি। শ্রুত্যেক আলোচ্য বিষয়টি “ডিস-ইণ্টারেসটেড স্পেকটেক্টর”এর মত আমরা দেখবো এবং দেখে যেমন বুঝব তেমনি ভাবে তার সমালোচনা করবো ব’লে এসেছি। যদি দেখি সরকার পক্ষের দ্রুটি হয়েছে তাঁদের তীব্রতম ভাষায় নিন্দা করব, তিরস্কার করব; আবার যদি যারা বিরোধী পক্ষীয় ব’লে নিজেদের পরিচয় দেন তাঁদের ভিতরও কোন অনায়্য অনাচার দেখি তাঁদেরও নির্ভীকভাবে সেকথা বলব। এই বয়সে আমরা এই “সেকেন্ড চেম্বার”এ এসেছি সত্য কথা বলবার জন্য। বহু সেবন বাবু যদি থাকতেন তবে তিনিও এই কথাই ব’লতেন। আমাদের উপর আক্রমণ করা অত্যন্ত অশোভন হ’য়েছে আমার অত্যন্ত দুঃখ হচ্ছে যে এই আক্রমণ এসেছে একজন অধ্যাপক শিক্ষাবিদেবের কাছ থেকে। যাহোক এসব ক্ষেত্রে আমি আর কোন কথা ব’লতে চাই না। শুধু আমার বলি যে এই “বিল”কে আপনারা গ্রহণ করুন।

আর একটি কথা ব’লে শেষ করবো। “বিল”এর সমালোচনায় একটি বড় ভাল কথা বলেছেন অনুশা বাবু; সেটা এই—এই যে টাকার “কমপেনসেশন” হিসাবে দেওয়া হচ্ছে “ইনস্পাইট অফ দের” সেটা জমিদারদের হাতে সম্পূর্ণ না দিয়ে অল্পতঃ তার একটা অংশ তাঁদের ঋণ থেকে কোন “ইনভালুয়বল কর্পোরেশন”-এর হাতে দেওয়া হোক এবং সেই টাকার হাতে কোন ব্যবসায় প্রযোজ্য করা যায় তার ব্যবস্থা করা হোক। এই ব্যবসায় যদি গভর্নমেন্ট নিজেয়া করেন তাহলে ফল আরও ভাল হবে। আমার মনে হয় প্রধান মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ের মনেও কথাটা উঠেছে। কারণ তিনি “সিলেক্ট কমিটি”তে বার বার বলেছেন যে, যে টাকার—

### 8j. Mohitosh Rai Choudhuri:

“সিলেক্ট কমিটি”র কথা না হয় নাই ব’ললাম, তিনি “লোয়ার হাউসে”ও বলেছেন এবং “লোয়ার হাউস”এর কথা বলতেও যদি আপত্তি হয় তা হলে বলব যে তাঁর মত এই যে এই “কমপেনসেশন” হিসাবে যে টাকা জমিদারদের দেওয়া যাবে সেটা ও “পার সেন্ট”এ খাটিয়ে দিলে যে আর হবে তা থেকে তাদের সংসার অনেকটা চলবে; কিন্তু সে টাকার খাটাবে কোথায়? অনুশা বাবু যা বলেছেন এই দিক দিয়ে সে কথাটা খুব যুক্তিসঙ্গত। এই টাকার “ফাইন্যান্স কর্পোরেশন” বা অন্য কোন বিশৃঙ্খল যোগ্য প্রতিষ্ঠানে যদি রাখা যায় তাহলে তাদেরও ব্যবসায়ের সুবিধে হবে এবং তার ফলে যারা “কমপেনসেশন” পাবেন তাঁদেরও উপকার হবে। অবশ্য এতে অনেক অসুবিধাও আছে। যাই হোক আমি সরকারকে অনুশা বাবুর এই প্রস্তাবটা বিশদ বিবেচনার সহিত দেবতে অনুরোধ করি।

[6-30 - 6-35 p.m.]

**Sjkta, Labanyaprova Dutt:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, our very learned professor, Mr. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya, has given us a discourse and proved to us that before and up to the time of Lord Cornwallis people of the country, the rural peasants, were the possessors of land and after the Permanent Settlement land became the property of the zemindars or rent-receivers. Now, when the property became the property of the zemindars I cannot understand how he can argue that they are not the real proprietors and that the land still belongs to the people of the country. I think that according to law the zemindars have been given the right of proprietorship to land. Why then should not the zemindars—there are some zemindars who are rich and there are others who are not so rich and there are zemindars who wholly depend on their land—be given compensation by this Government—this Government which, we have heard and we believe, stands for giving out equal justice to the rich as well as to the poor. I think that is due to the zemindars. I find that the zemindars will not get the amount of compensation that they could have got if they had sold

**Mr. Chairman:** What happened in the Select Committee is not allowed to be mentioned here.

[Sikta. Labanyaprova Dutt.]

out their lands individually to other people. They are only getting just a fraction of what they could have got if they had their own will. It is because we know that our country is so poor and because we know that land is needed for everybody that this sacrifice on their part is necessary. Land is needed for people who want to till the land. Sir, the zemindars are asked that considering the condition of the people of the country and considering also that the Government cannot pay them the full value of their lands, to take just a fraction of what they could have had otherwise. Suppose a zemindar has a thousand acre of land. He has to part with his land and he will get just a little bit of land for himself and he may have a very large family and for the rest of the land which he has to give up, he will be given some money and that money he will have to take. For the good of the country he needs to make this sacrifice at this great hour of national crisis. We are passing through a critical time and West Bengal at least has many problems. We know that many helpless people have come from the eastern side and we have to rehabilitate them. We have not got much land. There is very little land to be given out to the people. So the zemindars are asked to give up their lands. I am not a champion of zemindars, but I can say this much that every party and every person in this State, rich or poor, should get justice. I feel Professor Bhattacharyya was speaking only about the poor people but he left out a portion of the people to whom also justice is due.

[6-35—6-40 p.m.]

### 8j. Bijoy Singh Nahar:

সভাপতি মহাশয়, অনেক বক্তৃতা পরে বেশী কোরে ব'লে সময় নেব না। তবে বিরোধী পক্ষ থেকে কয়েকজন যে বাংলা দেশের লোকের উপর যে অন্যায় জাপন করেছেন সেজন্য ২১টি কথা বলতে চাই।

তঁারা বলেছিলেন যে “কমপেনসেশন” দেওয়া হবে কিন্তু সেটা তঁারা নিজেরা কোন কাজে না লাগিয়ে নষ্ট করবেন; যেন তঁারা নাবালক ও কোন সদ্‌বুদ্ধি নাই এই ভাবে তঁারা অন্যায় জাপন করেছেন। আমি তাঁদের জানাতে চাই যে বাংলা দেশের লোকেরা তাঁদের নিজেদের সদ্‌বুদ্ধির উপর বরাবর দাঁড়িয়েছিল, এবং যখনই সময় এসেছে তারা কি ভাবে নিজেদের তৈরী করতে হয় এবং কি ভাবে কাজে অগ্রসর হ'তে হয় তার যথেষ্ট প্রমাণ দিয়েছে। যখন জমিদারী প্রথা আরম্ভ হয়েছিল তখন দেশের লোকেরা এই ব্যবস্থাকে চিরস্থায়ী করবার জন্য এবং ভাল করবার জন্য নিজেদের যা সম্পদ তা তাতে নিবেশ করেছিল। আপনারা জানেন যে ভারতবর্ষে যখন নতুন শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার প্রচলন হয় তখন বাংলা দেশের লোকেরাই প্রথমে সেদিকে অগ্রসর হয়েছিল। আজকে যখন এই অস্বাভাবিক জমিদারী প্রথা শেষ হচ্ছে তখন বাড়লার হাতে যে টাকা পয়সা আসবে তারা সেটা ব্যবশায়ে লাগাবে এতে অন্যায় জাপন করবার কারণ বুঝতে পারি না। নিজেদের উপর আস্থা রাখতে শিখুন; নিজেদের উপর আস্থা হারাবেন না; জনসাধারণকে বিবাস্ত করবেন না, দেশবাসীকেও বিবাস্ত করবেন না। ক্ষমতা জনসাধারণের হাতে দেওয়া দরকার, এবং জনসাধারণের হাতে ক্ষমতা গেলে দেশের মঙ্গল হবে। কিন্তু একদল আছেন তঁরা বলেন সমস্ত ক্ষমতা কেড়ে নিয়ে সরকারের হাতে নিয়ে এস। বিরোধী পক্ষকে বলি আপনারা এ জিনিষটাকে আরও জোর দিয়ে সমস্ত ক্ষমতা সরকারের হাতে আনবেন না। ক্ষমতা যদি জনসাধারণের হাতে থাকে, জনসাধারণ সদ্‌বুদ্ধির দ্বারা ক্ষমতা পরিচালন করবে, বাংলা দেশের অধিবাসীরা তখন কি করা দরকার সেই দিকে এগিয়ে আসবে। বাংলা দেশের জনসাধারণ নিজেদের পায়ে দাঁড়িয়ে কি ভাবে সামাজিক ব্যবস্থা এবং অর্থনৈতিক ব্যবস্থা করতে হয় তা তারা জানে, এবং তা করবে। মন্ত্রী মহাশয়কে আর একটি কথা বলব। আগামী যে “বিল” আসছে তাতে জমিদারী বন্টন সম্বন্ধে ভ্রাব্যবস্থা হবে। এই “বিল” যে “সিলিং” করা হয়েছে তা না হয়ে যদি “ফ্লোরিং” এর ব্যবস্থা হয় এবং তাহলে যদি ছোট ছোট জমিও শ্রুতোক পরিগার পায় তাহলে তারা চাম্বাস করতে পারে এবং এইরূপ ভাবে বন্টনের যত কম জমিই হোক না কেন তাদের চলে যাবে। তারা নিজেদের খোরাকীর ব্যবস্থা করতে পারবে এবং তাতে বেশী ফসল উৎপন্ন হবে; তাতে শ্রুতোক জমিই কাজে লাগতে পারে। তা হ'লে যে জমি আছে তা অনেক বেশী লোকের কাছে বন্টন করতে পারবেন। এদিকে যেন তাঁদের দুটি থাকে।

**The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu:** Sir, I am deeply thankful to my friends Professor Bhattacharyya and Professor Rai Choudhuri for appreciating the genuine efforts made by the Government to bring about real land reforms in this country. You will forgive me for being short in my address as I have been dealing with this Bill from 5th of May this year and I have by now lost all appetite. Sir, we are not called upon to declare a verdict on the past misconduct of the zemindars. Our quarrel is with the system which has gone on for decades and our effort is to change that system in order to bring about better conditions.

[6.40—6.45 p.m.]

Sir, I am not surprised that there should be so much criticism of this measure, seeing that there is diversification of interest in land in this country. One is aware that for a little bit of land murders have been committed. I am expecting to encounter a great deal of difficulty in implementing the Act. Sir, let us see what we can do about it. Sir, we have taken a decision. We are unanimous that the system in vogue which enables a fairly large section of the people to earn profit out of land should be abolished in order to bring the cultivators in direct contact with the State. Sir, the object is firstly that we must take account of the land available and we must decide how to effect redistribution so that people who have excess of land may be deprived of the excess which they do not require, and the excess may be distributed among the people who have either no land or have only an uneconomic holding. What will be the result? People who have in excess of the ceiling will be able by intensive cultivation to improve agriculture and increase production. People who have now uneconomic holdings may as a result of redistribution, at least some of them, may have economic holdings, so that by similar cultivation they will be able to make a living on the land. Then, there is another class of

people who will have to depend partly on land because of uneconomic holdings, and partly on other undertakings. Then there will be a further class of people who will have to be diverted from land to other pursuits. Sir, if the experiment which we have undertaken succeeds, I believe that would bring about a better economic pattern. There is no doubt that there is not sufficient land in this small sized State to hold all; in other words, land which is available is not sufficient for distribution among the people, among the 250 lakhs of people, so that each family may have an economic holding.

Sir, so much has been said about compensation. So far as our Bill is concerned, the table has been worked out after due and careful consideration. It was a basis which was accepted not only by the honourable members on this side of the House but also by the Joint Committee on which there were representatives of different shades of opinion. Sir, the table is more or less on the basis of what has been accepted by the different States, excepting that in our case with regard to holders of big estates a more stringent basis has been imposed.

[6.45—6.50 p.m.]

In other words the larger the estate the less the compensation to be awarded. Sir, a suggestion has been made by my friend Shri Annada Choudhuri. I think that is a very useful suggestion and is worthy of careful and anxious consideration. In considering the question of compensation you have got to take into account various aspects, as was pointed out by Srimati Iabanvapriya Dutt. It is a fact that many people have made investments recently of their savings on land. Sir, there may be two persons similarly placed in life. One of them has invested money on land and another has invested his money in banks. Can it be said, even if we give the man, who has invested money on land, the compensation which we propose to pay,

[The Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu.]

he will be in a better position than the person who has not invested the money on land. Therefore, Sir, in fixing the basis you have got to take into consideration various aspects of the matter. Shri Annada Choudhuri has suggested that part of the money, at any rate, which will be paid as compensation should be invested in a financial corporation. His suggestion is worthy of consideration. But there may be some difficulty. Normally if you take away the land you are bound to pay him compensation and you cannot compel him to invest his money in a particular manner. But, Sir, we shall certainly consider that aspect of the matter and if it is possible, if there is no difficulty otherwise, we shall take it up. Then my friend has also suggested that in other States the two stages have been taken up together. My friend forgets that in other States no provision has yet been made for acquisition of any land in khas with the intermediaries. They are only acquiring the interest of intermediaries, that is to say, the rent-receiving interest. They have not undertaken the experiment by means of present legislation. My friend has also suggested something about people indulging in speculation. What he said in his amendment is extremely vague.

My friend Janab Abdul Halim had discussed on fishery. Sir, in my view if no agricultural land has been converted into fishery it will not come within the meaning of and definition of tank fishery in the Bill. According to that definition a tank fishery has got to be a reservoir whether formed naturally or by excavation or by construction of embankments.

[6-50—6-55 p.m.]

Sir, my friend has talked of what is happening in the Sundarbans, of breaches that have been deliberately made in the embankments to let in saline water for the purpose of creating fisheries. This in my view will not be tank fisheries within the meaning of the present provision.

Sir, I need not take up the time of the House any more. I would now ask the House to pass the Bill as settled in the Council.

The motion of the Hon'ble Satyendra Kumar Basu that the West Bengal Estates Acquisition Bill, 1953, as settled in the Council, be passed, was then put and agreed to.

**Mr. Chairman:** As there is no other business before the House and this Bill has been passed, the House is adjourned *sine die*.

#### Adjournment.

The Council was then at 6-52 p.m. adjourned *sine die*.

#### Members absent.

- (1) Bhattacharjee, Sj. Durga Kinkar.
- (2) Bose, Sj. Subodh Kumar.
- (3) Chatterjea, Sj. Devaprasad.
- (4) Mohammad Sayeed Mia, Janab.
- (5) Sanyal, Sj. Charu Chandra.
- (6) Sarkar, Sj. Pranabeswar.
- (7) Sen, Sj. Debendra.

*Note :—*The Council was subsequently prorogued with effect from the 2nd December, 1953, under notification No. 3881A.R., dated the 2nd December, 1953, published in an extraordinary issue of *Calcutta Gazette* of even date.

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